

( 3 )

ARCHÆOLOGIÆ  
ATTICÆ  
LIBRI SEPTEM.

SEVEN BOOKES OF THE  
ATTICK Antiquities.

CONTAINING

The description of the Citties glory, govern-  
ment, division of the People, and Townes within  
the *Athenian* Territories, their Religion, Superstition, Sa-  
crifices, Account of their Yeare, a full relation of their  
Judicatories. By *FRANCIS ROUS* Scholler of  
*Merton* Colledge in *Oxon*.

With an Addition of their Customes in Marriages,  
Burials, Feastings, Divinations, &c. in the foure last  
Books. By *ZACHARY BOGAN*,  
Scholar of *C. C. C.* in *Oxon*.

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The Fifth Edition Corrected and Enlarged, with a  
twofold Index, *Rerum & Vocabulorum*.

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*Aristid.* Περιετατεληφόσι τὰς ἀνὰς, ἐπερχόμεθα, μείζον ἔχοντες  
ἔργον ὃ, πφυλαξόμεθα ἢ ὅτῳ χησόμεθα, ἰυρεῖν.

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OXFORD,  
Printed by *H. Hall* Printer to the UNIVERSITY,  
for *John Adams*, and *Edw. Forrest*. 1658.



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TO THE  
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL  
S<sup>r</sup> NATHANIEL BRENT Knight,  
*Vicar Generall, and the most vigilant*  
Warden of Merton Colledge  
in OXFORD, *Health,*  
*&c.*

**I**T is the custome of most, to impose a patronage of their errours upon some eminent person. But it shall be my ambition in this my Dedication to manifest my observancie. Others make their choice of potent men, thereby to shun the darts of envy: it shall be my glory to be thought worthy of invidency; whose ignorance is not so great but well  
\* 2 knowes

*The Epistle*

knowes that ever some will bite in secret, & scourge these errours of my youth with private reproaches. But such malignant tongues I will counterpoise with the winde; and set as lightly by as they are vaine. And although I am confidently perswaded that the covert of your wings bee sufficiently able to shelter my faults; yet had I rather to expresse my duty towards you in these naked infirmities, whose goodnesse truly knowes how\* to pardon the bold adventures of Learning. I present you therefore with *Athens*, whose deplorable raggednesse my papers well resemble: which may challenge this excuse, that they assimilate themselves to the Treatise in them contained. Which of all men, I my selfe am conscious most unfitly to have handled. That City once the \* nurse of reason; \* which florished in eloquence, & brave atchievements more then all *Greece*, could not, unlesse in her miserable ruines, have without her disgrace been spoken of by me. That *Athens* whence the learned Fathers of the Church suckt rare literature, *Basil* his eloquence

\* *Aufis* literarum ignoscere  
*Vegetius* in  
Prolog,

\* *Cic* Epist.  
\* *Patercul.* in  
fine Lib. I.



# DEDICATORY

eloquence, Nazianzen his strength, & others  
 their flowing Oratory. That Athens which  
 who had not scene is by \* *Lysippus* accoun-  
 ted a block. Accept, *Honoured Sir*, these Re-  
 liques of that famous Univerſity, though by  
 me offered, as Devotion paid to Antiquity,  
 by you well eſteemed of, though among  
 moſt of theſe our dayes accounted dirt;  
 whoſe labour it is to ſeek new faſhions, and  
 like nought, but what may be accounted no-  
 velty. Reſembling the brute, of which *Cice-  
 ro. Ad id ſolum quod adeſt, quódq; preſens eſt ſe  
 accommodat, paulum admodum ſentiens prateri-  
 tum, &c.* never caring for what is paſt. But  
 you weigh well the excellency of talking  
 with thoſe Champions of Learning, hun-  
 dreds of yeares ſince gathered to their former  
 duſt. By whoſe penſils we ſee drawne the  
 lively images of deceaſed Monarchs, the  
 forms of government, & very lives of ſtates.  
 Out of which patternes, if you pleaſe to  
 deeme the leaſt part of this to have beene ta-  
 ken, it ſhall heap to my joy that the follow-  
 ing Tract will not ſeem a ſpurious and de-

Apud Di-  
 cæarchum  
 'Εἰ μὴ τὸ  
 αὐτὸ τὰς Α-  
 λωῶν, ἑλέ-  
 χθ' εἴ.

## THE EPISTLE

generate offspring. Upon presumption of which I feare not, as the Eagles do their young, to expose my brood to the rayes of the open Sunne. Thus with continuall wishes for addition to your happinesse, I take leave,  
From my Study in *Merton College* Jun. 9. 1637.

*Your VVorships in all humility*

*to be commanded*

F. Rous.



TO





To the READER.



*I* is not a thirst of empty glory that makes me run hazard of your censure, but a consideration of the weaknesse of School-Masters, who undertake to read the Greek Orators to raw Scholars, themselves being not ripe in the Attick Customes. I have therefore so farre endeavoured as you see. If any thing may afford a scruple to any, he shall engage mee that will require



## THE EPISTLE

quire satisfaction. If any thing seem amisse, it shall be taken by mee as a favour to heare of it from any. For I am not of those whose eares are stopt, when their errours are told them. If this please, it shall adde spurres to the finishing of this course intended, & as occasion may give leave, you shall have the rest that may be spoken.

Yours

F. R.





ARCHAEOLOGIAE  
ATTICÆ

LIB. I. CAP. I.

*Iavan, Ias, Iaones, Ionia, Axlun. Axtua. Axlū Athena in ætā;  
Cecropie, Cranae, Attis, Attica. Athena sub Cecrope.  
Certamen Palladis & Neptuni, Plutarchi ea de re sententia,  
alii sub Erectheo volunt nominari, Iustinus sub Amphicty-  
no. Salenos. Selines. Satina. Sethina.*



Y the sonnes of Noah were the Iles of a Gen. 10. 5.  
the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one  
after his tongue; when by there audacious fol-  
ly they would have mounted up to heaven,  
thinking to leave a name to posterity, by build-  
ing Castles in the ayre. From which attempt  
proceeded that which before they were jealous of, namely  
a scattering abroad upon the face of the earth; he having so  
spoken it whose breath alone affords a faire winde. hoyft  
then they must their Sailes, and bidding adieu to the plaine in  
the land of *Shenar*, seek out some new habitation. Travel-  
lers they were of yore, and yet still must journey. Each one in  
as different a course, as of a divers language. The sons of  
*Shem* their way, the sons of *Japhet*, theirs. *Gomer* and *Ma-  
gog*, and *Madai*, and *Iavan*, with whom I purpose one furlong  
A to

b Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. p. 13.

c Dan. 10. 20. d Cap. 11. 2.

e Strabo l. 9. p. 392.

f In Persis p. 133.

g Donat. in Ter. p. 130.

to keep company, leaving the rest on one side or other, or behinde, looking onely to my proposed scope. *b* Ἀπὸ δὲ Ιαυαν ἰωνία καὶ πάντες ἑλλήνες ἤγοντο. From *Iavan* came *Ionia* and *all the Greeks*. And in Scripture we have *Iavan* put for *Greece*; in *Daniel* twice, *c* And when I am gone forth, the Prince of *Grecia* shall come. And again, *d* He shall stir up all against the *Realm of Grecia*. Where although the old Translation renders it not *Iavan*, yet it is so found in the Original. He then coming into the Countrey, called afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was tearmed *Ionia* and *Ias*, ἡ δὲ Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἰωνία καὶ ἰὰς ἐκαλεῖτο. For *Attica* was anciently called *Ionia* and *Ias*. In which words we still retain some reliques of the *Radix*, notwithstanding the small difference of the termination. But if we please to view after what title the sons of *Iavan* were stiled *Iaones*, we shall come nearer home. *Strabo* in the above-quoted place, ὅς πομπῆς ὄντων ἐν Ἐπίδαυρον καὶ ἰαῶνες καὶ Ἀθηναίους λέγει. *Homer* when he says, *There the Boeotians and Iaones* speaks of the *Athenians*. The *Scholias*t of *Aeschylus* on these words,

f ἰαῶνων γὰρ οἱ πέρτοι δὲ λαὸν.

Ἰεὸς δὲ ὅτι ἰαῶνες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγονται ἐκ τινος ἰάντος βασιλέως αὐτοῦ. It is to be understood, quoth he, that the *Athenians* are tearmed *Iaones*, from one *Ia-n* (he means *Iavan*) that was their *King*. Neither is it strange that the *van* or *υαν* is left out; for though it be not written, yet perswaded I am, that it was as much pronounced, as other *au* *Diphthongs* were. For the *g* antique *Latines* and the *Greeks* spake it as broad *a*, as if it had been *Thesarus*, not *Thesaurus*. *Sir Walter Raleigh* is of opinion, That *Asia the less* had people before *Greece* had any, and that *Iavan* did not flee from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Asia the less* in his passage, and from thence past over the nearest way, leaving his own name to some maritime Province on that side, as he did to that part so called. In which, although the authority of so worthy and judicious a Man might move much, yet it shall be sufficient for me, onely to go so far, as antiquity



will bear me out. <sup>a</sup> *Thucydides* reports, that it is manifest, <sup>a</sup> Lib. 1. p. 2.  
 that all Greece was not βαβυλίας οὐκ ἐκείνη, firmly inhabited, but  
 that there were continual Pilgrimages, or Removings of the  
 Inhabitants, forsaking their former places, being driven out  
 by a stronger and greater number. Wherefore when there  
 was no safe traffick or commerce by Sea or Land, each ma-  
 nured his Grounds to have Provent, alone to serve for pre-  
 sent necessity, desiring no more then from hand to mouth;  
 it being uncertain how soon they might be compelled to get  
 them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change  
 their seats; not taking grievous that sharp charge, *veteres*  
*migrate coloni*, Be gone you ancient Boors. But the more fer-  
 til Soil had hard bickrings. *Theffalia*, *Bœotia*, and a great  
 part of *Peloponnesus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and  
 the old Lords expelled. *Τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τὰ ἐπιπλεῖστα διὰ τὸ* <sup>b</sup> *Thucid.*  
*λεπτὸν καὶ ἀκαταστάτον ἔσαν, ἢ ὅσων ποτὶ φικὰς οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐξεί.* But Attica, by  
 reason of the thinness or barrenness of the ground, was always  
 inhabited by the same men (none it seems being willing to  
 leave his better for a worse) not affording fuel to contention.  
 Out of which peace sprung up so great a multitude, that *At-*  
*tica*, even now swarming, and ἐχέοντες ἑσόντες, not able to con-  
 tain and feed so many, is constrained to send forth Colonies  
 into *Ionia*, a region of *Asia* the less, which is reported by the  
 Greeks to borrow denomination from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*,  
 or, as the Poets say, *Apollo* and *Crensa*, who in the words of  
*Euripides* is thought to be *εὐκλῆς Ἀττιάδης χθονὸς*, the maker or <sup>c</sup> In *Ione* T. 2.  
 founder of *Asia*. The mother *Ionia* (for so I please to say) kept <sup>c</sup> P. 619.  
 not still her former name. For in process of time she owned  
*Actæa*; from *Actæon*, as <sup>d</sup> *Strabo* says, or from *Actæus*, ac- <sup>d</sup> Lib. 9. p. 397.  
 cording to *Pausanias*, who was the first King thereof, by <sup>e</sup> In *Att.* p. 2.  
<sup>f</sup> *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron* called *Actæus*. But <sup>g</sup> *Dion Chrysostom* <sup>f</sup> Pag. 23.  
 brings a more natural reason then this, why it was *Actæa*: <sup>g</sup> Orat. 6.  
*Actæa* signifies a shore, both in the Greek and <sup>h</sup> *Latine* speech. <sup>h</sup> Virg. *Æn.* 5.  
 Now because all of it within a little was washed with the <sup>i</sup> P. 214.  
 sea, and <sup>i</sup> *ἡλίου*, it might challenge unto it self *Actæa*. <sup>i</sup> *Strabo*. l. 9.  
<sup>j</sup> P. 391.

i Pag. 22.

k In Spicilegiis.

l Strabo &  
Paus. locis præda Varro apud  
August. l. 18. c. 9  
de civit. Dei.b In Them. p.  
87. l. 23.

c Lib. 2.

αἰεὶ χεῖρα τὴν ὀλίγη πᾶσαν ἀντὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ὅθεν καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν λαοὶ  
 βῆντες ἀντὶ τῆς πᾶσης. Hence *Ἀκτὴ* by the *Enigmatical Poet*  
 in his *i Cassandra* is put for this Countrey. *Tzetzes*. Because it  
 is (*Ἀκτὰ*) a cliff, that is cast forth and lying in the Sea. And  
*Athene* her self by *Plautus* is said, *Athene in acta, pro Athe-*  
*nis Atticis*, as *k Palmerius* hath noted. But this grew old af-  
 ter a season, and *Cecrops* having married the daughter of  
*Actæus*, glories in his *Cecropia* (and *Athens Cecropia*, and *Ce-*  
*cropis civitas*, and after that *Cranaæ*, from *Cranaus* the king  
 that succeeded him) This *Cranaus*, among other of his daugh-  
 ters, had one *l Atthis*, from whom also was derived *Atthis*  
 and *Attica*, next *Posidonia* and *Minerva*, from *Neptune* and  
*Pallas*. In this region stood *Athens*, *Queen of Greece*, so called  
 from that victory which *Minerva* got over *Neptune*, when  
*Cecrops* moved with a prodigy of a sudden shooting up of  
 an Olive, and bubling forth of a salt spring in the *Acropolis*,  
 consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, who taught them that the one  
 did signifie *Neptune*, the other *Minerva*, taking therefore  
 the men into suffrages for *Neptune*, and the women for *Mi-*  
*nerva*, who had most voices should carry it. The females  
 being more, the Goddess bore away the bell. Lo here a wit-  
 ty Divel to bring in *ἐμχρῆς θεὸς*, Gods of his own making,  
 to intold the superstitious in an ignorant zeal. However, let us  
 leave the shadow of poetical fictions, & take the true draught  
 out of *Mythologie*. *Plutarch* is of opinion that the ancient  
 Kings, striving to draw away their subjects from seafaring  
 negotiations, and a desire to live by sailing, unto tillage and  
 manuring of ground, gave occasion of the speech that *Nep-*  
*tune* and *Minerva* did altercate about the city. *Εὐαῖνοι δὲ*. &c.  
*Neptune* is put for the Sea, and businesses thereof. *Minerva*  
 for Arts and ingenuous kinde of life, nay says *Ovid* in his Ka-  
 lender, *Mille Dea est operum*. She is Goddess of 1000 Trades.  
 Others say that the City was consecrated to her by *Amphi-*  
*ctyon*, & *nomen civitati Athenas dedit*. c *Justine*. Others in the  
 time of *Eretheus*, among which is *Herodotus*, will have this  
 name

given. Which Author *d Marcianus Heracleota* doth follow, *ὁ δὲ θεμυγί- στροειὺς λαβεῖν.* This was that *Erectheus*, who in a time of <sup>scilicet.</sup> drougth over all the world except *Egypt*, brought corn to *Athens*, and taught the *Eleusinian mysteries*. Beholding this Citie hath been to *Egypt* for other kings; to wit, *e Cricrops* and *Menestheus*, for his father *Petes* was an *Egyptian*. In <sup>e Anstoph. sch. pag. 79: Tzetx. in Lycoph. p. 23.</sup> the time of *Diodorus Siculus* and before him was it a received opinion that *Athens* was peopled by the *Egyptians*. *Sais* in that tongue answering to *Athene* in Greek, as *Tzetzes* out of *Carax*. Nay that they should be of the inhabitants of *Sais*, they argue from this. Because that the *Saitæ* and *Athenians* have divers customes alike. Witnesse *Diodorus Siculus*. But it pleases not me. I conjecture that first it was called *Athens*, when the people began more seriously to addict themselves to civill government, and studie of good literature; knowledg and art being ascribed to *Minerva*. Τῇ δ' Ἀθῶνᾳ ἡ ἐπιστήμη δεινὸν δέμαρ καὶ τὴν ἰσχυρίαν. saies *f Aristotle*. Nay her name being derived from thence, *Ἀθῆνα* in the *Chaldy* tongue signifying to *study* or *learne*: from which come *thenaa*, and with an article *Hatthenaa* as *g Heinsius* the most learned. As for the conceit of *Goropius Becan*, from *ana* the number of <sup>g In Aristar. Sac. Synt. 1. 6. r p. 27.</sup> three which notes eternity; and so from *hat-het-ana*. *Athens*. Because wisdom doth contain eternity, let us send it back into *Germanie*. Loe now *Athens* named from learning, which was once the *h shop of letters* and the *Muses*, whereof it is now <sup>h Isidor.</sup> deplorably destitute, having lost the glory of former *Athens*; nay the name it selfe. For if we believe some they tell us, that now it is *Salenos* or *Selines*. To whom I accord not. Because that I have read *Selines* for *Megara* called *Nisæa*, which is not many miles from *Athens*. Furthermore in discourse with a native of *Peloponnesus*, who lived many yeares in that City, I had no other appellation from him then *Ateene*, which others write *Satina* corrupted as *Portus* and *Mentusius* truly think for *eis Athῶναι*. Nay a *Hugo Favolius* who was there <sup>a In Hodæp. Byz. l. 3.</sup> himself



himself even to the same purpose names it *Sethina*:

*Undique sic misera nobis spectantur Athena,  
Dadala quas Pallas sese coluisse negaret,  
Quas Neptune pater, nunquam tua mania dicas,  
Indigenæ Sethina vocant.---*

We wretched *Athens* round do view, which now,  
Though once ingenious *Pallas* love, 's her shame,  
And t'have been thine, *Neptune*, wouldst disavow,  
To which the homebred give *Sethina* name.

## CAP. II.

*Athenarum situs. Ἀστυ πόλις. Ἀκρόπολις. Herbe lucentes, Murus, Pelasgicus & Cimoniæ, Propylæa. Circuitus veteris urbis, & novæ: ἡ ἀνω & ἡ κάτω πόλις. Piræi brachia. Murus Phalericus. Portæ. Aer. Laus passim apud scriptores. Cephissus Fluvius.*

*b* In Panath.  
p. 171, 172.

*c* Lib. 9. p. 396

\* Plin. Nat.  
hist. l. 7. c. 56.

*d* In Att. p. 13.  
l. 16.  
*e* Eunuch. act.  
5. sc. 6.

*f* Attic. p. 24.  
l. 43.

**G**reece, says *b* *Aristides*, is placed in the midst of the whole Earth; and in the midst of it stands *Attica*; the navel whereof is *Athens*, by which all Greece, closeted in the womb of time, received nourishment before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. She is seated upon a very high Rock, which habitations do encompass, as *c* *Strabo*: on the top of which stands that renowned Fabrick even to this day, which *Cecrops* from himself names \* *Cecropia*; of old ἄστυ, *The City*, by a kinde of excellence, in a bravado of their Antiquity, concerning which they were in perpetual contention with the *Argivi*. Witness *d* *Pausanias*. *e* *Terent*, *An in æstū venit?* *Donat*. Sic *Athenienses urbem suam vocabant, unde ipsi incolæ ἄστυ vocantur*. So, saith he, the *Athenians* called their City, whence the Citizens themselves are called *astoi*: after that they called it πόλις, *f* *Pausanias*. Which in his time was called Ἀκρόπολις or the high City, although it be often interpreted *Arx*, a Castle; which

which ever were sacred to *Minerva*, as *g Aristides*. Who therefore is by *Catullus* in his *Argonauticks*, named *Divare-*  
*tinens in summis urbibus arces*: The Goddesse that keeps the  
*Turrets of Cities*. This onely now remains the succor and  
shelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being strongly furnish-  
ed with Men and Arms, in which alone dwell Janizaries, to  
the number of seven hundred thousand, as *Christophoro An-*  
*gelo* told me, and avouched it, I fearing least he had mista-  
ken the number. As for the Forces thereof a *Hugo Favolius*  
shall thus instruct you,

*g Orat. in Mi-*  
*nerv. To. 1. p.*  
*21.*

*a Hodep. Byz.*  
*l. 3.*

*Arx tantum celebris hoc tempore montis eodem*  
*Quaeque impôst a jugo est, vastas prospectat in undas*  
*Aequoris, & circum dispersa mapalia, & omnes*  
*Externo indigenas nocuo tuatur ab hoste,*  
*Nobilis arx, toto qua non est altera Graio*  
*Nota magis regno, validisque instructior armis,*  
*Ignivomoque magis tormentorum impete tuta.*

A Castle onely famous at this day,  
Set on an Hill, below which views the Sea.  
The scattered thatcht sheds that stand it about,  
The Fort defends, and keeps Invasion out,  
And Natives safe. A Fort; none noted more  
In Greece, which hath a better Warlike store,  
Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

Upon the top of this Turret stand the fashions of Halfe  
Moons most rarely gilded, after the manner of the *Ismae-*  
*lites*, who have the Moon in no small honor, as my much ho-  
nored Mr. *b Selden* hath observed. Of which Lunulets thus  
speaks *Favolius*,

*b De Diis Sy-*  
*ris, Syn. 2. cap. 2.*  
*p. 288.*

*Cujus inauratis longe rutilantia Lunis*

*Ardua coelivagas serunt fastigia nubes.*

Whose tops with gilded Moons aspiring high,

Doe knock the Clouds, the pilgrims of the sky.

Neither may it pass obscurely which I have taken up, being  
let fall from the mouth of an eye-witness, namely, that on the  
side

side

side of this hill, on which the *Acropolis* is built, grows a certain kind of herb, that farre off, in the night season, gives a most shining and glittering light, to which when a man shall approach, he shall discern nothing but the herb it self. Of which matter I seriously wish that I could testify the truth. It was delivered to me, *bona fide*, with good credit. The Walls that environ this, are none now, saies *Favolius*, but in former time it hath been well fenced; some part thereof erected by those two *Tuscan* brothers, who leaving their country, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called *παραργεῖ*, *Pelargi*, Storks, *καὶ τῶν παραλῶν*, for there wandring, a *Strabo*.  
 a Lib. 9. p. 397.  
 b Nat. hist. l. 7. b *Plinie* saies their names were *Euryalus* and *Hyperbius*.  
 c. 56. The two that first built houses of brick at *Athens*, when formerly they had Caves for dwelling places. But by the authority of *Pausanias*, though the Printers and Scribes have done both that Author and the persons wrong, in putting a fals name upon one of them, I will do them none. Read then *Laterarias domus constituerunt primi Agrolas & Hyperbius fratres Athenis*, &c. c *Pausanias*, οἱ αὖτ' Ἀρχαίων καὶ Ὑπερβίων. From these was that part which they edified called *Pelargicum*. *Aristophanes in Avibus*.

Τίς δ' αὖ κατέχει τῆς πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν;

The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Cimon* the sonne of *Miltiades* clothed. *Pausanias* in the fore quoted place. These walls admittred no gate but one, so rarely beautified with that costly *Propylaum* or porch, on which *Pericles* is discommended by d *Demetrius Phalareus* for disbursing so great a sum of money. e For which he was not smally troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people; His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore seeing him somewhat sad, and demanding the cause, to whom when his unkle replied, that it was about giving his accounts, seek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counsell the *Athenians* were entangled with that neighbour war against the *Lacedemonians*, in which they found not vacancy for an audit.

By

c Ju Atic. p.  
26. l. 34.

d Tul. Off. l. 2.  
e Val: Max.  
lib. 3. c. 1.



By the way it shall be fit to acquaint you with thus much, that it was not permitted to a dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as f *Plutarch* δια τῆ ἀκολύσεως καὶ δυσωδίας it may be, for his heat in f *Ελληνικ.* Venerary and ill savour. Goats likewise, saies g *Varro*, came p. 175. not thither, unlesse for a necessary sacrifice once, lest they g *De re Rust.* should hurt the *Olive*, which is said first to have sprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is said to be threescore stadia. Now a *Stadium* is about some \* six hundred and twenty five feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the custome of the ancient Greeks, so to measure the length or distance of grounds, or Cities, by the σταδία. The first City then is contained in seaven miles and an halfe. But to this were added more houses able to make a City of themselves. And so indeed were they distinguished by ἡ ἄνω & ἡ κάτω πόλις. The upper and lower City. h *Plutarch*, καὶ ἡ κάτω καὶ ἡ ὡς θαλάσσης ἐν τῇ μέσῃ ἀνω πόλιν διαφύλαττα. Note here moreover, in the reading of your Greek Authours that when you meet with τὸ ἄνω in the description of a Countrey, you presently must conceive the higher part, if it be τὸ κάτω, the lower. a *Thucydides*. Ἐπεροὺν τὲ καὶ ἀλλήλους τὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅποι ὄντες ἐπὶ θαλάσσοι καὶ ἄνω. And they preyed upon each other, and among the rest who were not addicted to the sea, yet lived below, understand neare the sea, Schol. καὶ τὴν ἡλιθιότητα τῶν θαλάσσιων. The τὸ ἄνω then, and τὸ κάτω knit together made but one joynt corporation, both as it were uniting *Piræum* unto themselves, tooke up, as b *Di-* b *Orat.* 6. on *Chrysostome* writes, two hundred *Stadia*, which is about five and twenty miles. Upon which place, *Morellus* produces a *Scholiast* testifying that the walls were πεντήκοντα σταδίων, or fifteen miles save one furlong. Where I wonder that the learned man had so soon perceived the number to have been corrupt, and written καὶ for εἰς, twenty for fiftene. For so it ought to be. Neither is it strang that it had so large a bound. For consider that from *Piræum* to *Athens* were reckoned five miles, as you may see in c *Pliny*. from *Athens* to *Phalerum*, and so to the other side of *Piræum* foure miles c *Nat. hist.* l. 2. and c. 85.



in height about forty Cubits, as *f Appian* testifies. These are called *διὰ μίαν τεῖχον* by *g Dion Chrysostom*, because *Athens* being at one end, and *Piræum* at the other these were drawn forth between. And when Writers speak of *Νῆσον διὰ μίαν τεῖχον*, it may be conjectured that it is for distinction of that *Νότιον τεῖχον* in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built, *h* witness *Pausanias*. *Aristophanes* seems to bring authority for an opinion that *Themistocles* built these. In *i Equitibus*.

*f* In Mith. p. 124. l. ult.  
*g* Orat. 6.

*h* In Attic. p. 19. l. 8.  
*i* P. 337.

*Τὸν Περαιᾶ προσέταξεν.*

Which his *k* Scholiast affirms, *Τὸν δὲ Περαιᾶ Θεμιστοκλῆς προσέταξε* *k* P. 338. A. *βαλεῖν τῇ πόλει*. For *Themistocles* added *Piræum* to the City. We read in *l Probus* that he was the only Agent in walling the City, & that he so hastned the accomplishing, that they were fain to be as it were Sacrilegious, and make use of Materials formerly consecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But *m Plutarch* gain-says this, and that he did onely *τὴν πόλιν ἐξάγειν τὸ περιῶς, καὶ τὴν γλῶττις ἀλῆναι*, conjoyn the City and *Piræum*, and put the Land to take acquaintance with the Sea. It seems somewhat forward before. However, so fenny was the ground it was founded upon, that the work soon came to great reparation, which *a Cimon* the son of *Miltiades* undertook. For with Stones of an huge weight, and Lime, he made the Earth so firm that it could not give. Nay he was so liberal, that he did out of his own Expences so great favors, to a People that some years after gratified him with exile. Neither did he onely mend the breaches; but in after-time *o* finished the whole work, so that he may be truly said to be the Founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City. \* *Meursius* hath observed ten, but I fear they will scarce suffice to such a vast City. Take then these, *Dipylon* or *Thriasia*, the fairest of all, *velut in ore urbis posita*, placed as it were in the front of the City, says *Livie*, *major aliquanto patentiorq; quam cetera est*, greater somewhat and wider then the rest. Hence I suppose named *Dipylon*, as if it were as big as two Gates. *Πνεύματι Πύλαι*

*k* P. 338. A. col. 2.  
*l* In Them. p. 27.

*m* In Them. p. 87. l. 25.  
*n* Plut. in Cini. p. 355. l. 14.  
*o* Plut. p. 355. l. 12. unless *τὸ ὑπερῶν* may have respect to *Conon*, who after the victory at *Cnidus* erected these walls, as *Paulan.* in Attic. p. 2. l. 14.  
*I* would neither deceive my self or the Reader.  
\* Attic. Lect. initio.  
*p* Dec. 4. l. 1. p. 11. A.



raica. Neere the Temple of *Chalcodoon*. Here were buried some of those that died in fight with the *Amazons* in the time of *Theseus*. *q* *Plutarch*. *Ἰππιδῆς*. *Hippades*, where the bones of *Hyperides* the famous Oratour rests with his progenitours, who being racked under *Antipater*, chose rather to bite off his tongue, then to divulge the secrets of his country. *a* *ἱερί*. *Sacra*, the sacred gate. We read of this in *b* *Theophrastus*'s *Characters*, but to my great admiration, that the Eagle-fighted *Cassion* had not espyed a fault. For though it be true that there were such gates at *Athens* as *ἱερά*, yet is there any that ever read *καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς πύλας ἐξενέχθαι νεκρῶς*, the dead to have been carried out to buriall through the Sacred gate? It makes not any thing that it was spoken to a stupid fellow, for they spake not as our vulgar doe, such as, *When Christmas comes out of Wales*. write then *Ἡεῖα*. *Heia* are the gates at which they went forth with their Corps at the solemnizations of their obsequies, the reason of which shall be spoken hereafter. *c* *Demosthenes*, *Ἀγῶς πύλαι*. The gates of *Aegus*. It seemes to have been in *Delphinium* where he dwelt; whence the *Hermes* or Image towards the East end of the Temple was called *d* *Ἐρμῆς ἐπ' Ἀγῶς πύλαις*. The statue at the gates of *Aegus*, *Μελιτῖδης*. *Melitides*. Where lyes *Thucydides* the sonne of *Olorus* that wrote the *Peloponnesian War*, who after his returne into his country from banishment, was treacherously murdered. his Sepulcher stands neere these gates. *e* *Pausanias*. *Κεραμικῶ*. *Ceramica*. These are called by *Xenophon* αἱ ἐν τῷ *Κεραμικῷ πύλαι*. The gates in *Ceramicus*, where many of the *Lacedemonians* were buried, which died in the seditious War that *Thrasylbulus* made against the *Thirty Tyrants*. *f* *Xenophon*. *Διοχάρης πύλαι*. The gates of *Diochares*. Of whom I have nought to speak. *Αχαρνναὶ πύλαι*. The *Acharnan* gates. I suppose they were called so from that Town or Village neere, named *Acharnia*, to which it is probable it looked. For so did the ancients name their Gates from the town to which they were neere. The *Romans* their *porta Collatina* from

*q* In *Thesco*.  
p.9.l.20.

*a* ἐν βίῳ *ἱερί*  
p.45.  
*b* ἐν *ἱερί* *ἱερί*  
p.45.

*c* Pag.715.  
num.95.

*d* *Plut.* *Thes*.  
p.4.l.21.

*e* *Atticis* p.21.  
l.41.

*f* *Ἐλλωκ.ε*.  
p.279.l.43.

from *Cellatia*, a Burge not far off. And happily it is so here, as also in *Διομνα*. *Diomna*; for *Diomus* is a people of *Athens* not any great matter distant from the City. *Θρανία*. *Thracia*. These are all that ever I met with named: others there are obscurely pointed at by *Pausanias*, as that neere the Gallery which from its various draughts they call *Pacile*, where is the effigies of *Mercurie Agreus* in brasse. And others about the beginning of his *Attica*, of which I had better hold my peace then speak as good as nothing. Thus have we found twelve gates; which being opened enter, suck that sweet aire, whose excellent purity brought forth such acute wits, and prepared with a most happy bounty understanding judgments for contemplation. Whence *Enripides* may well straine to this note, that *Venus* sitting neere, and adorning her selfe, sends forth continually *Cupids of learning*, *παντοίης ἀρετῆς ξανεργύς*. Well may he blesse that clime stiling it, *λαμπρῶτατον αἰθέρα*, which hath been the Mother of the *Muses* (by the leave of *Mnemosyne*) or at least the Nurse to them, for there are they said to have travelled with *Harmodia*; as if there were no such melodious concert, as in the Sciences. Let not *Theophrastus* assert all *Greece* to lie under the same temperature and disposition of the heavens, when at this day it may be spoken, as once *Aristides* did of it, No coast so truely void of all earthly dregs, and participating more of the celestiall and defecated aire. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* been lavish in expressions. *f Famous*, *g The most renowned*, *h Happy*, *i Sacred Athens*. *Pindarus*. *k Wonderfull*. *l Much spoken of* *m Neat*, &c. To the making up of her delight comes to all the river *Cephissus*, which is able to beare vessels of a good burthen, as I have been informed, but the *Turks* fearing lest it might be advantagious to an enemy that might invade them, have cut it into many and sundry little streams, damming up with an innumerable quantity of stones the mouth of the river for a mile in length. Thinking they have sufficiently prevented that, which they did but suppose could happen.

*Meursus* hath added two. *I-tonex*, & *Scax*. In *Atticis* which I never saw until I had written this place, as *God* & *man* is my witness. I speak lest any should think that I have stolne out of him, because we meet *g Atticis* p. 14. c. 11. *a Cassiod.* Var. l. 12. *b Medea* p. 460 461. *c Med.* p. 459. *d In Praef.* ad *Charact.* *e Tom.* I. p. 173. *f Aia.* p. 57. *g Oed.* Col. p. 258. *h Oed.* Col. p. 264. *i Aia.* p. 71. *kl m.* p. 361.

## CAP. III.

Ἀθηνοί. Ἀδλω αἰοί, *Mores, & Ingenia.* ἡ μισθὰς βαροῦ. *Quantum hodierni differunt à veteribus; & qualem vitam rationem modumque habent.*

l ἐν βίῳ Ἐλ-  
λαδῶ.  
P. 169.

m Varro apud  
Aug. de Civ.  
Dei. l. 18. c. 9.

n Act. 17.

b In Pluto p.  
38.

THE Athenians by *Dicaearchus* are divided into two sorts, Ἀθηνοί, *Atticos*, and Ἀδλωαῖοι. Of which though there were no difference in latter times, yet certainly of old there was. Infomuch as one of the punishments, which the Athenians are said to inflict upon their women (for the appeasing of *Neptune*, bringing in an inundation upon their fields to their great dammage, in anger conceived for loss of the Title of the City) was this, m That none should after call them Ἀδλωαῖοι, *Athenians*, but Ἀθηναῖοι, *Atticas*. A revenge I suppose opprobrious enough. For thus writes my Author. Οἱ μὲν πεῖργοι τῇ λαοῖαίς, ὅπως αἰετ, συκοφαντοῦσιν, παρατηρεῖ τ' ἐνικῶν βίαν. *Curious bablers, Deceitful, Calumniators, Observers of the lives of strangers.* Πείργοι ταῖς λαοῖαίς. A sufficient witness of this is a *St. Luke*, that says, *They did regard nothing more then to hear and speak novelty.* To which end they often met in Barbers shops, where all the news, that was going in those days, was currant. Hence say we, *verba in con-* *strinis proculcata*: and in Greek ἐν τοῖς κερείοις λόγῳ, b *Aristophanes.*

καὶ τοὶ λόγῳ γ' ὡς, ἢ ἢ Ἡρακλεῖα, πλούς  
ἐπὶ τοῖς κερείοις, ἐκδηλῶν  
εἰς ἐξ ἀπὸντος ἀνὴρ γὰρ ὡς τῶν πλέσι

They that sate in Barbers Shops did talk much that he was suddenly grown rich. The Scholiast seems to take the meaning, as if the Comœdian had quipped them for resorting to Barbers, and neglecting Barber Chyrurgions, of better credit. But I see no reason. They met in both to prattle. c *Ælian*  
καθεζομένους ἐν ἰατρῇ, φασγῶν, καὶ ὡς ἀρσενεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πλέσι  
δ.

c Var. hist. lib.  
3. c. 7.



ἰσχυροί. Sitting in a Chyrurgions shop, scandalous, and thir-  
 sty to speak ill by all means; ὕπυλοι, men Italianated, who  
 can smile even when they cut your throat. Such as *Theophras- d* Cap. 10.  
*stus* hath in his Characters drawn out, who can be affable to ἐῖργ' ἰαγ.  
 their enemies, and disguise their hatred in commendation,  
 while they privily lay their snares; that salute with mortall  
 Embracements, and clasp you in those arms, which they  
 mean to embrew in your dearest Blood. In sum, fair with-  
 out, but rotten within, like a Wound which is healed above  
 and seems sound, but putrifies under the skin. And so much  
 the word doth import. Συκοφαντίας. Given to false accusa-  
 tions. The e Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes, That it being e In Plur. p. 51  
 forbidden to carry Figs out of *Athens*, and some, neverthe-  
 less the Decree being absolute against it, presuming so to  
 do, they set Rogues in the Gates that did appeach them (as  
 f *Plutarch* likewise) Hence came this word to be used for f In Solone p.  
 any crafty Knave that gets his living by promooting, g 65.  
 συκοφαντίας ζῶν. One that meddles in every mans affairs, and g Xenophon.  
 therefore h *Aristophanes* hath fitly brought one upon the Ἐκκλησι. β.  
 Scene, terming himself an *Overseer* both of private and pub-  
 like matters. If then such a person had espied any tripping, p. 271. l. 20.  
 and gotten him on the hip, he would as sure have fetched h Pluto p. 90. c.  
 him over for his Coyn, as any *Summoner* doth a person de-  
 linquent towards the flesh, or any Lawyer a credulous Cli-  
 ent, and having well plumed him, afterwards give him a Di-  
 missory. Εὐκλῆναι (Sycophanta) ὡς γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶν χεῖματα λαμβάνοιεν,  
 ζῶντων. Xenophon. Such were many in *Athens*, insomuch that i Ἐκκλησι. β.  
*Aristotle* being asked what *Athens* was, answered, παρὰ γὰρ, All p. 272. l. 19.  
 beautiful, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ ἡ εὐχέλεια τοῦτον δ' ἐπὶ συνέφ, in a Verse a Odyss. η.  
 of a *Homer*, in the description of *Alcinous* his Garden, but  
 pears grew ripe after pears, and figgs after figgs, meaning a  
 continual succession of sycophants. This made *Isocrates* the O-  
 rator to compare the city to a Curtezan, w<sup>th</sup> whom few there  
 were but would have to do, yet none dare take to wife, affir-  
 ming it the best place to sojourn in, but the worst to inhabit:  
 By

- By reason of their Sycophants and trecheries of nimble tongued Oratours. Παρατηρητοὶ τῶν ξενικῶν βίων. I was once halfe in an opinion that these words were to have been put to the former thus, σικοφαντώδεις παρατηρηταὶ τῶν ξενικῶν βίων. And I thinke the sense will runne well, *Malitious observers of the lives of strangers.* The Athenians were φιλόξενοι and held hospitality sacred, and I doubt not but they had that Law, *That forrainers should receive no wrong,* ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶνται. b *Socrates* in *Xenophon*. Now he discommends the Ἀθηνοὶ as ready to trouble and vex strangers in law, duly marking and bearing an eye unto them to take them at an advantage: As for the Athenienses they were μεγαλοψυχοὶ, ἀπλοὶ τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς φιλικὰς γνήσιοι φίλοι, *Brave spirited, single dealing, and faithfull friends.* But as the words were at length confounded, so did their manners degenerate, growing into ἀνωμαλία τῆς φύσεως, an *Irregularitie of nature*, as c *Polybius*. No μεγαλοψυχία afterwards, but haughtinesse of spirit, magnanimity now fallen. And when b *Livy* sayes *Ex vetere fortuna nihil præter animos servare*, he meanes, they had nothing left but those proud spirits, which their ancient flourishing fortune had puffed up. No ἀπλότης, or simplicity, no e *lamb-like innocency* or mildnesse; but as f *Plutarch* speaks, people rashly angry, soone pittisfull, rather inclined sharply to take opinion, then quietly to be enformed. And g *as they are ready to helpe base and object peasants*, so friendly do they entertaine childish and ridiculous toyes, rejoycing in their own praises, and nothing moved with scurrility, Fearefull and terrible even to their governors, humane towards their enemies. Not unfitly then g *Valerius Maximus*, *Quantam ergo reprehensionem merentur*, &c. How deserve they to be blamed who though they had just lawes, yet had most wicked dispositions, and chose rather to take their own courses, then put in practise their statutes? As for their impudence, so great was it, that to expresse a countenance void of shame, the Comædian hath put Ἀθηκὸν βλήπεον, An *Athenian looke*, in h *Nubibus*. a *φιλικὰς γνήσιοι φίλοι*, So accounted in the time of a *Paterculus*,

b Απομνημ.  
β. p. 428.

c Lib. 6.

d Dec. 4 p. 7.  
l. i.

e Aristoph. p.  
694.

f πολίτ. πα-  
σα γ. p. 387.

g Lib. 5. c. 3. p.  
207.

h Pag. 189. g.

a Lib. 2. p. 47.

*culus*, that what was done in sincerity and faithful trust, the Romans would say it was performed *fide Attica*, with an Athenian loyalty. Fear and power might make them trusty, but how they brake their Leagues, took part with other Islanders against confederates, and violated the Laws of arms, Historians are not dumb. As for their wrath, it was *ἀέμωτος*, ever mindful, as *b Virgil*, *memor ira*. And the hatred *b* *Æneid. 1.* they prosecuted the Barbarians withal, was so unquenchable, that it burned against *c* all Barbarians for the Persians sake, and *c* *Isoerat. in Pan. 109.* they forbade them their Sacrifices, as they used to do murderers among them: Where you must note, that all that were not Gracians were called of them Barbarians. But loe! How are they now become all barbarous! whether or no people of Africa, or some of the Catelani, I cannot justly tell. Mahumédans all, poor and miserable, living by rapine, or fishing, or tilling the earth, *d Favolius* *Dur áq; coacti* *d* *Hodæp. Byz. l. 3.*

*Pauperie assuerunt vitam tolerare rapina.*

*Aut passim infestant furto, raptóq; propinqua*

*Æquora pirata, sed quæ pars æquior, hamis*

*Fallit inescatos tereti sub arundine pisces.*

*Aut desolatas exercet vomere terras,*

*Semper inops, misera, infelix, rerum omnium egenæ.*

Opprest with need, they do their life sustain

By rapine; and annoy the neighbor main

With pillaging. Who are more just and good

With angling do the silly fish delude;

Or plough the grounds made desolate before,

Unhappy, wretched, miserable, still poor.



## CAP. IV.

De populi divisione, Εὐπατρίδαι. Γεωμόροι. Δημιουργοί. Πεντακτύοι. Ἰππῆες. Ζωγῖται. Θῦναι. Quid Atheniensibus cum Aegyptiis commune.

e So doth Dionysius Halicarnassæus divide them into  
Εὐπατρίδαι & αἰχμοίτες,  
lib. 2. n. 2.

a Pollux. 1. 8.  
c. 9. p. 404.

b In Solone.

c Pag. 61. In Solonem.

There were at first two kinds of People in Athens, e two orders, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæq; aliquid interlucebat, in which there was difference of dignity and fortune: such as at this day are in France either Peers or Peasants; or as in Venice, Patricians and Plebeians. And although Pollux calls them τρία γένη, three sorts, yet I make but two, because the γεωμόροι were not any way more gentile for blood, surpassing for riches, or happy for life. But because he hath so set them, take them thus, as he speaks, a τρία γένη ἔθνη πάλαι Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιουργοί. Εὐπατρίδαι, Eupatridæ, were such as were descended from the loyns of those Heroes famous in the Greek History, whose Families were ever renowned, and posterity propagated to many generations, such as Praxiergida, Eteobutada, Alcmaecnida, Cynida, Ceryces, &c. whom we may term Nobles, or men of good birth. Γεωμόροι, Geomori, may not seem unlike our Yeomen, who had lands of their own, and sustained themselves with the fruit and commodity of these their possessions. Δημιουργοί, Demiurgi, were men of some handy-craft, Tradesmen, such as Tent-makers, Shoo-makers, Carpenters, Masons, and the like. But Solon made another division. For when the Diacrii, which were those that lived in the upper part of the City, διὰ τὸ ἄνω, says, Diogenes Laertius; and the Pedieai, which likewise are πεδῖαι such as lived in the middle of the City, or the Plain. And the Paralii who lived near the Sea, were at contention about government. The Diacrii leaning to a Democracy, as e Plutarch writes, the Pedieai to an Oligarchy, and the Paralii between both, and had chosen Solon to arbitrate and determine the matter

matter; he made these four ranks. Πεντακοσιομήδων, ἵπποις, ζευγίταις, Θῆταις, *Pentacosimedimnos, Equites, Zeugitas, Thetas.* *Pentacosimedimni* were those who ἐν ξηγῆς ὕμῃ καὶ ὑγρῆς, *d Plut. p. 65.* could make five hundred measures in wet and dry commodities alike. What *Posseardus* then brings out of *Varro* concerning *modium*, hath no place here; for he supposes that *Pentacosimedimnus* was he that had as much ground as fifty *Medimni* could suffice to sow; but here I will confute him with a wet finger, ἐν ὑγρῆς. For he seems to sow upon the waters. This is he whom the *Elzevirii* printed at *Leyden*, *An. 1635.* under the name of *Postellus*, who was sometimes a Professor of Tongues in *France*, and Author of the Treatise *de Magistratibus Atheniensium.* *Equites* were such as were of ability to keep a horse, or had the quantity of three hundred measures in dry, and as many in wet: called likewise ἱπποδάμιαι, ζευγίταις, *Zeugita*, were such as could of wet and dry in all make but three hundred. Any of these three could bear office in the Commonwealth. A fourth rank which he called e Θῆταις, *Thetas*, a name from servility, which had no power in the rule of the Weal-publique. But it had not been amiss if I had shewn how the *Egyptians* had divided their people into three Classes, as the *Athenians* did, as I have spoken above. For the first degree or *Eupatridæ*, addicted to learning and study, who were had in greater honor, answer to the *Egyptian* Priests. Nay those great houses in *Athens* had Priesthood by succession, as *Eumolpidae, Ceryces, Cynidae.* For out of the stock were chosen Priests, hence ἱεροκλῶν ἐκ γένους in *Demosthenes.* The *Geomori* who had lands assigned to them for the maintenance of the War, are not dislike them in *Egypt* who hold possessions on these terms; namely, To provide Souldiers when need shall require to fight. The *Demiurgi* resemble those Plebeians, who skilful in some Art, did set out their labor to daily hire, as *Diodorus Siculus* can tell me.

*e Plutarch. loco prædicto.*

*f Plut. Thef. p. 8. l. 18.*  
*g Pag. 741. num. 164.*

## CAP. V.

*Tribus quatuor sub Cecrope mutata earum nomina. Augentur à Clisthene: duæ additæ. Φεαγία. Φεαγες. Τερής. Τένθ. Tribulum Κοινονία. Φυλεπία δ᾽ ἄλλα, Φεαγία.*

**I**N Athens there were but four Tribes under the rule of Cecrops. Cecropis, Autoethon, Actæa, Paralía; which had other names put to them, Cranais, Atthis, Mesogæa, Diacris. I suppose from the parts of Attica, it lying partly neer the Sea, thence Actæa, partly hilly, thence Diacris, partly Mediterranean, thence Mesogæa, the other name from the King that was then; whether the King would honour the Tribe so much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I know not. It is probable that it was an honor to their Governor, for as Cecrops gave the first names, Cranais the second, each assuming a title to himself. Eriethonius called them after the name of Jupiter, Pallas, Neptune, Vulcan. Δίας. Ἀθηνᾶς. Ποσειδῶν. Ἡφαισῶν. But when Ion came to rule, they were named after his four sons, Geleontes, Egicoreis, Argades, Hopletes, as a Herodotus and b Euripiæes. Though Plutarch says that they were so called, c ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰων εἰς ἃ διμετέσταν ὁ λαὸς τὸ πᾶν, from the courses of life which they first took. But Clisthenes, a man factious and wealthy, is said by the Council of d Apollo, Alcmaeon being Archon to make ten of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from some Demi-gods or Heroes born in that land, all except Ajax, whom, though a stranger, he put to the rest as a neighbor and companion. e Herodotus. These then were called Ἐπώνυμοι; as you would say, giving names; the word so signifies sometimes, as Minerva is said by Dion Chrysostom, Ἐπώνυμος Ἀθηνᾶν, who gave the names to Athens. To these were erected Statues near the Council place of the Senate. Their names are these, as f Pausanias hath them. Hippothoon, Antiocus, Ajax Telamoni-  
nus,

a In Terpsich. p. 137.

b In Ione ver-  
sus finem.

c in Solon. p. 65.

d Aristides T. 1. p. 336. A. T. 3. p. 352.

e In Terpsich. p. 137.

f in Att. p. 4. 5.



nus, Leo, Erechtheus that slew Immaradus the son of Eumolpus in the Eleusinian War, Ægeus, Oeneus, Acamas, Cicrops, Pandion. From these *Ἰπποδρόμης, Ἀγροχίς, Αἰαντὶς, Λεοντὶς, Οἰωνίς, Ἀγαυαντὶς, Κερκωπὶς, Πανδίοις*. To which they put two more, one called after Antigonus, the other after Demetrius his name in gratitude to them for the favors received; which in process of time they changed into Attalis, and Ptolemais, as Stephanus writes, *ὡς ἔστι παύσιον ἐνεργῆτι δέντι βασιλέων*, having been courteously entreated by the \* Kings bearing that name. Which being so, let us take heed that Livy deceive us not, who at the time, when Attalus did succour the Athenians against Philip, says, They first thought of adding that Tribe to the ten, in thanksgiving that the Rhodii rescued four fighting Ships of the Athenians taken by the Macedonians, and sent them home, *a Tum primum mentio illata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda.* Thus

\*These are reckoned among the Eponymos in Paus. p. 5. who had statues likewise.

a Decad. 4. l. 1. p. 6.

have we seen that there were twelve Tribes in all: Let us look back to the first institution. I suppose they were first ordained for the better administration of Civil Government. b Eustathius writes that they were divided in imitation of the year. The four Tribes according to the four quarters; each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call *τριτύς* or *τριτῖα*, answerable to the twelve Moneths, each *τριτῖα* or *τριτῖς*, into thirty *φύλῃ* or kindreds, equalising the days. For so many onely had the year of old. Witness the Riddle of c Cleobulus concerning the year.

b In Il. b. pag. 181.

c Laetius, p. 63. l. 1.

Εἷς πατήρ, πᾶδες δὲ δώδεκα· τῶν δὲ ἑκάστη  
Παῖδες τεύκοντα, διὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἑξῆς ἔχουσα.

One Father had twelve Sons, and each Son thirty Daughters, and every Daughter black and white, meaning days and nights. Over these were Governors, *κυλοβασιλεῖς*, Kings of the Tribes, who sat upon Controversies between party and party of their own Tribes. Each Tertain also had his overseer called, *τριτύαρχος* the Ruler of the *Tritrys* or *Phratria*. The word may seem to signify a Society, Fellowship, or Com-

## CAP. V.

*Tribus quatuor sub Cecrope mutata earum nomina. Argentur  
à Clisthene : deux addita. Φεαγρία. Φεαγρες. Τερήος. Γένθ.  
Tribulum Κοινωρία. Φυλεπία. δῶτις, φεαγρία.*

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Company. It skills not whether you derive it from *καρπία*, *Eustath*, or *παρτίς*, as *Suidas*, or *ερείας*, as others, which is a Well, because they drew Water from the same Well. For the place being scanty of Springs where *Athens* was founded, there being but one well-spring in *Athens*, they were constrained to use *φρέζες* *πομπῶν*, digged Wells, as *d Plutarch*. *Φράτρες* are the men of that society, called by *Tully*, *Curiales*, of the same Ward, speaking of *Cimon*, who gave command that his servants should afford what they had, if any *Lacians* should come into his Farm. In description of which thing *Plutarch* uses *συμότης*, which then we are not to interpret *Curialis* (For this is as much as *συγγενής* and *συμφυλότης*) but *popularis*. These at Festival days in *Athens* met in a place called *Phratrion*, as *a Eustathius* observes, & *b Pollux* (where they brought their Children to be engrossed in their Books, as shall be hereafter spoken, with the reasons thereof) *φρατρίζειν*, *Phratrizēin*, from hence comes, which is *τὸ εἰς φρατρίαν συνιέναι*, to meet, for so *Eustathius* in another place, *εἰς ταυτὸ συνιέναι*. As for the *γέν*, or kindreds, we must not think that they were of one blood, but of that near conjunction which they had each with other, being admitted into this Society. *Γένε μὲν* (every *Γένος* or kindred consisting of thirty, whence they were named *τριακῆδες*) *ἢ προσηκόντες*, *ἐν δὲ τῷ συνόδῳ ἔπαρον παρὰ δόμους*. Not of affinity so called, but for their Synod; which the Grammarians call *σύστημα κοινωνικόν*, a Communicative familiarity, *κοινωνία*, being a participating in one thing, or having an equal share in the same Priviledges. Great was their care of each other, great was their mutual love, which that it might continue, *Solon* their Law-giver ordained certain Feasts to be provided, wherein they should kindly entertain each other. *Δείπνα φυλεπικά*, and *φρατρίκα* *b Atheniens*. *Τῶν δὲ νῦν δείπνων προνοῦντες πᾶσι νομοθεῖ* *τὴ φυλεπικὰ δείπνα καὶ τὰ δημοτικά προσέταξαν* *ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ διασους καὶ τὰ φρατρίκα &c.* Of Feasts celebrated at this day the Law-makers have appointed *Phyletica*, for Tribes, *Demotica* for the people or popular: Moreover

*d* In Solone p.  
65. l. 33.

*a* Iliad. C. pag.  
181. & II. I.  
pag. 629.  
*b* Lib. 3. c. 4.

*b* Dipnosoph.  
1. 5. p. 185. d.

Moreover *Thiasos* for Colledges (as Philosophers for the death of their Grand Masters) and *Phratrica* for the same Ward. Hence ἑστᾶζειν πλὴν οὐλῆς, and ἑστᾶζειν πρὸς φιλίαν. Of which in due time. The reason of this the *Dipnosophist* gives, saying, That Wine hath ἐλκυστικὸν ἢ πρὸς φιλίαν, an attractive and perswading force to procure love and friendship.

CAP. VI.

*Græcia vicatim habitata. Δῆμος quid? Atheniensibus proprium habere δῆμος. Quot? Templâ & sacra pagatim.*

ALL Greece was inhabited καὶ κώμαι, as *e Thucydides* speaks <sup>c Lib. I.</sup> by Villages, before there were any Towns; from whence comes the word Comædy. <sup>d Donat. in</sup> *At verò nondum coactis* <sup>Præf. in Ter.</sup> *in urbem Atheniensibus, cum Apollini Nomio, id est, Pastorum vicinorumque præsidii Deo, constructis aris in honorem divinæ rei circum Atticæ vicos, villas, & compita festum carmen solenniter cantarent: orta est Comædia ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμαΐζειν καὶ ἀδειν, quod est, commessatum ire cantantes.* The Athenians being as yet not gathered into Corporations, when they sung sacred hymns to *Apollo Nomius*, that is, the President of the Sheep-herds and Neighbors, about the Villages, Houses, and crois ways of *Attica*, Altars being built in honor of the celebrity, sprung up a Comædy, ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμαΐζειν καὶ ἀδειν, from reveling and singing. Others will have it derived from an ancient custom they had, when any were injured among them, for the party wronged to come to the Street, where the Offender lived, and in the Night time to cry aloud, αὐτὸς ἵνα ἀδικεῖ, <sup>a Thomas Ma-</sup> καὶ τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, <sup>gister.</sup> Such a one doth wrong, and commits such and such Outrages, although there be Gods and Laws, by which these abuses were reformed. But the *Anonymus*, in a Preface to *Aristophanes*, sayes, μὴ κώμαι καλεῖται δὲ Ἀθῆναι, ἀλλὰ δῆμος, that they were not called κώμαι, or Villages by the Athenians, but δῆμος, which they translate

state Populos, better in my minde, oppida, or Towns. Cicero  
 b Lib. 7. Ep. 3. ad<sup>b</sup> Atticum. Venio ad Peræa in quo magis reprehendendus  
 sum, quod homo Romanus Piræea scripserim non Piræum (sic  
 enim omnes nostri locuti sunt) quàm quod M addiderim. Non  
 enim hoc ut oppido præposui, sed ut de loco: & tamen Dionysius  
 noster, qui est nobiscum, & Nicias Cons, non rebatur oppidum  
 esse Piræea, sed de eo vid. ro. Nostrum quidem si est peccatum, in  
 eo est, quod non ut de oppido locutus sum, sed ut de loco: secutus-  
 que sum non dico Cacilius, Mane ut ex portu in Piræum (ma-  
 lis enim auctor Latinitatis est) sed Terentium cujus fabellæ pro-  
 pter elegantiam sermonis putabantur à Caio Lelio scribi. Heri  
 aliquot adolescentuli coimus in Piræum, & idem Mercator  
 hoc addebat captam de Sunio. Quid si dixeris oppida volumus  
 esse, tam est oppidum Sunium quam Piræus. If so be we will  
 have dixeris to be Towns, Sunium as well as Piræus is a  
 c Atticis p. 30. Town. These were formerly Kingdoms, as c Pausanias te-  
 1.42. stifies. Γέγονται δὲ δῆμοι, ὅτε ἐκ τοῖς δῆμοις εἶναι πολλοὺς, ὥς καὶ  
 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐλάττωτο ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ πόλις. Moreover, I have writ-  
 ten, that some of the Towns were governed by a King be-  
 fore the reign of Cecrops. And no marvel, for some of them  
 far surpassed other Cities, as Aristides affirmeth. These  
 were most peculiar to the Athenians, anciently called ναυκλά-  
 πται, as e Aristoph. Schol: or ναυκλῆται, as f Pollux, twelve be-  
 longing to every Tribe. But Clisthenes changed them into δῆ-  
 μους as out of Aristotle the Schol. of Aristoph. The number  
 g in Il. b. pag. 215. of them is, as g Eustathius out of Strabo and h Casaubon, an  
 h in Athenæ- hundred seventy four. Some whereof having the same name  
 um 1.6. c. 9. are distinguished according to their situations, κατὰ τὰς ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 καὶ ἐν ἐπεὶ δὲ, as we may say the upper and the lower Wakefield,  
 &c. All of them are divided into Greater and Lesser. The  
 i Pausan. Att. i μικροὶ or less are these, Alimusi, Zofter, Prospaltii, Ana-  
 pag. 30. gyrafi, Cephale, Prasæis, Lampreis, Phlyeis, Myrrinusi,  
 Athmoneis, Acharna, Marathon, Brauron, Rhamnus. The  
 rest were greater. Take them promiscuous according to their  
 Tribes.



Κ Ε Κ Ο Π Ι Σ.

Αξώνη. Δαδάλιδαι. Επκείδαι. Ευπίτη. Πίδος. Συπαληήδος.  
Τρινεμείς. Αθμονον ή Αθμονία. Αλαί Αξωνίδης. Φλύα. Αχονε.  
*Dadalide, Epietide, Xypete, Pithus, Sypalettus, Trinemei, Ath-*  
*monon or Athmonia. Ala Aexonides. Phlya.*

Ε Ρ Ε Χ Θ Η Σ.

Αγρύλη ή Αγρύλη. Ευωνυμία ή Ευώνυμο. Θήμακοι ή Θήμακος,  
Κηκτιά. Λαμπερά. Καθύπερδιν. Λαμπερά έπένερδιν ή παρλίθ.  
Παμβωπόδω. Περγασή. Συβείδω. Φηγός. Αναγυρς. Αγραυλε or  
*Agryle. Eponymia or Eponymus. Themaci or Themacus. Ce-*  
*phisia. The upper Lampra. The lower Lampray, in which Sigo-*  
*ninus erres calling one the maritimate, the other the inferior,*  
*which to be one and the same I have shewen above. Pambow-*  
*tade. Pergase. Sybride, Phegus, Anagyrus.*

Πανδονίς.

Αγγελή. Κυδαθνώσιον. Κόθνεον. Οά ή Οείς. Παιανία καθύπερ-  
διν. Παιανία έπένερδιν. Προβαλίνδος. Στερία. Φητιά. Μυρρίνους.  
*Angele, Cydatheneum. Cytharum. Oa or Oeis, the upper Pa-*  
*ania, the under Paania. Probalinthus, Stiria. Phegae. Myrrhi-*  
*nus.*

Αγυρίς.

Αλαί Αεφφονίδης. Αεφφώ. Βατή. Γαργηπός. Διουμία. Ερεχθία. Ερί-  
χρια. Εχρία. Ικαρία ή Ιεασίθ. Κολυψός. Κυδαντίδαι. Πλωθία. Τί-  
δρα. Χητιά. Φιλαιίδαι. Χολλίδαι. Αλα Αραφηνίδης. Αραφην.  
*Bate. Gargettus. Dionea. Erethia. Ericria. Echria. Ichria or*  
*Icarus. Ionide. Golyttus. Cydantide. Plothea. Titbras. Phegae.*  
*Philede. Chollide.*

Ακαμανίς.

Αγυρίς. Ερεσιδαι. Ερμός ή Ερμώ, Ηραυσιάδαι. Θείκος. Ιτία. Κί-  
κωα. Σφηττός. Χόλαργος Χόλαργοι Χολαργία. Κεφαλή. Πρόσπαλτα.  
*Agnus. Erisida. Hermus or Hermi. Hephestiade. Thoricus. Itca.*  
*Cicyana. Sphettus. Cholargus Cholargi Cholargia Cephale. Pro-*  
*spalta.*

Λεοντίς.

Αιθαλίδαι. Αιθαλία. Αριδία. Διγείδης. Εγλή. Ευπυείδαι. Κηττοί.  
D Κρονία.

Κρωπία. Λακόνιος. Ὅσιον Κερασμ. Παιονίδαι. Πήληκις. Ποταμὶς. Σκαμβωνίδαι. Σένιον. Ὑβὰ Ὑβᾶδαι. Φρέαρροι. Μαεσθών. Αλιμῆς. *Æthalidæ* *Æthalia*. *Aphidna*. *Dirades*. *Hecale*. *Sypyra*. *Cetti*. *Cropia*. *Leuconium*. *Oeum*. *Ceramicum*. *Paonide*. *Pelaces*. *Potamus*. *Scambonide*. *Sunium*. *Hyba* *Hybade*. *Phrearri*. *Marathon*. *Alimus*.

## Ἰπποτονίς.

Αἴλιαι. Αμαξαντίαι. Ἀναχαια. Ἀχερδῆς. Δικέληα. Ελαιδῆς. Ελαῖς. Ελῶσις. Ερσιᾶδαι. Θυμοιτάδαι. Κεριαδαι. Κορυδαλλός. Ὀιον Δηκίλ. Οινόη Εἰδῶ. Σφενδαῖλη. *Azenia*. *Amamaxantea*. *Anaceæ*. *Achardus*. *Decelia*. *Eleusis*. *Eleusis*. *Aræade*. *Thymatade*. *Cariada*. *Corydallus*. *Oecum* *Decelicum*. *Oeum ad Eleutheræ*. *Sphendale*.

## Ἀνποχίς.

Λιμλία ἢ Αἰγίλθ. Ἀλωπικὴ Ἀλωπεκαί. Ἀμφιτροπή. Ἀνάφλυσις. Ἀτλὼν Ἀτλῶα. Βήσσα. Θοραί. Κριῶα. Λάκοπυρα. Μελαινεῖς ἢ Μέλαιναί. Παλλῶν. Πεντέλε. Σημαχίδαι. Φάληρον. *Ægilia* or *Ægilius*. *Alopece* or *Alopeceæ*. *Amphitrope*. *Anaphlystus*. *Atene* or *Atenia*. *Bessa*. *Thora*. *Crioæ*. *Leucopyra*. *Melenæis* or *Melæna*. *Pallene*. *Pentele*. *Samachidæ*. *Phalerum*.

## Αἰαντίς.

Οινόη Μαράθ. Τιτακίδαι. Τρικόνυθθ. Ραμνῆς. *Oende* at *Maechen*. *Titacida*. *Trichorithus*. *Rhamnus*. Of this tribe were some towns taken away & put to other, *Aphydna*, *Persida*, &c.

## Οινίης.

Βέτεια, Βεταῖδαι. Επικηφισία. Θρία ἢ Θρία. Ἰπποτομάδαι. Λακία, Λακιάδαι. Λεσία. Μελίτη. Οη ἢ Οη. Περιδοῖδαι. Πτελία. Φυλή. Ἀχαρνα. Τυρμίδαι. *Butea*, *Rutade*. *Epicephisia*. *Thria* or *Thrio*. *Hippotomade*. *Lacia*, *Laciade*. *Lusia*. *Melite*. *Oe* or *Θε*. *Perithade*. *Ptelea*. *Phyle*. *Acharna*. *Tyrmide*.

## Πτολεμαῖς.

Βερενικίδαι. Θυργωνίδαι. *Berenicida*. *Thyrgonide*. Κορύλη. *Conthyle*.

## Ἀτταλῖς.

Ἀπολλωνεῖς. *Apollonienses*. These are all which authors make

make mention of according to their Tribes, others there are, which I know not how to distribute, none of the ancients either directing or furnishing me. But these are they. *Agra. Anchæmus. Amphiadæ. Archilia. Astypalæa. Atalanta. Achrædus. Belbina. Brauron. Brilessus. Enna. Echelidæ. Zostr. Thrion. Calæ. Cædæ. Cothocidæ. Cocle. Cynosarges. Ceramicus* without the city the same with *Academia. Laurium. Lenæum. Limnæ. Munychia. Parnes. Pnyx. Patroclus* his ditch or trench. *Scirum. Sporgilus. Hydrusa. Hymettus. Hysia. Phaura. Phormisii. Phrittii. Phoron. Chitone. Oropus.* To which are put the Islands, called *Pharmacusæ*, two in number, and *Psyttalia*. The Scholiast of <sup>a</sup> *Aristophanes* speakes as if *Io* were a *Demus*, but I say not with him. The greatest use we have of these among authors, is in their forme of Law, matters of contracts, and the like, that their might be no fraud or deceite; that none either unjustly be taxed for any thing, or tax another. Hence read we such punctuall clauses in their writs. *N. the son of N. dwelling at Alopeca, ἐν Κοίλῃς, ἐν Μελίτῃς. ἐν Κεραμύων.* of *Cale*, of *Melite*, of *Cerameis*. In these villages were Temples of the Gods. <sup>b</sup> *Livie. Templâ pagatim sacrata.* And againe. *Delubra sibi fuisse, quæ quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis castellis viisque consecrata, ne in unam quidem urbem contributi majores sui deserta relinquerent.* So much witnesseth <sup>c</sup> *Pausanias*; who tels us that they worshipped some peculiar Deity, and yet neverthelesse did τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀρεῖν ἐς τιμὴν, honour *Minerva*. Some of them had peculiar festivalls, as *Brauron* the solemnities *Brauronea*, to *Diana Diomea*, to *Jupiter Diomeus*, *Chitonea* &c.

<sup>a</sup> In *Ranis* p. 235.

<sup>b</sup> Dec. 4. l. 1. p. 12. 13.

<sup>c</sup> In *Atticis* p. 77. l. 40.



## CAP. VIII.

Τυραννίς. Ολιγαρχία. Δημοκρατία. Atheniensium status mutatio.  
 Ἰερὸν Σπέρων Μέγας. Δύξ.

<sup>a</sup> In Ctesiphontem p. 4.

**T**He ancients had but three sorts of government. *Tyrannis, Democratia, Oligarchia*, as <sup>d</sup> *Æschines*, which *Polybius* calls βασιλείαν, εἰσκρατείαν, δημοκρατείαν. where although the one names it à *Tyrannis* or Tyranny, the other βασιλεία, the rule of a King, yet must we understand the same. For in old time all Kings were called Tyrants, as *Servius* on *Virgil* hath observed. A word taken up by the *Græcians* about the time of *Archilochus*, which neither *Homer*, nor *Hesiod* knew; and therefore are the Poets noted, as, ἴδον π πεινονδότες, for calling the Kings, or βασιλεῖς before the *Trojan* wars, Tyrants or Tyrannos. βασιλεία or a Kingdome, is where obeisance is free, yeelded rather out of a good advice, then for fear or might. Αριστοκρατία an Aristocratie, when most wise and just men are fitly chosen to sit at the Helme of the Weale publicke. Δημοκρατία a Democracie, when the Lawes and customs of the Country in matters belonging both to Gods and men are truly observed, and that rules the roost, which shall be approved of by the greater part, τὸ ἰδοῦν τοῖς πλείοσι saies *Polybius*, as that may be said at a banquet to please all, which doth relish well with the most. But the grave historian hath observed changes in such government, as they use to be, inclining to the worst Monarchies being turned into Tyrannies, as when the people are led away by the perswasions of some pleasing apopular man, and are as it were, willingly constrained to take the yoke that his usurping authority shal lay on them; a Tyrant indeed said, <sup>b</sup> *Vi consecutus*, who gets it by violence, <sup>c</sup> *Omnes & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, que libertate*

<sup>a</sup> Aristot. l. pol. l. 5. c. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Probus in Miltiade.

<sup>c</sup> Probus ibid. p. 17.

bertate usæst. But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who have perpetuall authority in that City, which formerly hath enjoyed liberty. The deprivation of which causing murmuring and rebellion, brings forth an *Aristocratie*, or government of the best men, such as are well brought up and exercised in vertue. The end of an *Aristocratie* being, as <sup>b</sup> *Aristotle* d Pol. l. 4. c. 9 hath it, *Vertue*, which of no long continuance doth soon degenerate, e *ὡς ὀλιγαρχίαν παπείους καὶ οὐσίαν*, naturally enclining to an *Oligarchie*, or rule of few. These few being chosen according to their riches. And because that many in a state cannot be wealthie, therefore the number of them cannot be great. These are great Lords and little Kings, whose power swaies all, and not the Lawes, who unjustly favour those that are partially theirs, and oppresse them that would defend their liberty against them. All things being administred f *πῶς* f *Æschines* in *τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκτελεστικῶν*, by their presidents. Such dominion is taken away by the people set on a rage, not bearing *τὰς ἀδικίας*, the injuries of their rulers. Hence comes in a *Democratie*, which *Sophocles* calls ἐν τῷ πλείονι λόγον, the power of a multitude, whose end is freedome; when all can equally partake of the same priviledges and immunities, who are true citizens: whence *Terence* stiles it *aquam libertatem*; for which the *Greek Orators* have properly used the word *πολιτεία*, as *Ulpian* observeth. But the vulgar for the most part g In *Demost.* p. 59. strangely insolent, prone to wrong, and ready to trespass against the Lawes, bring in by a miserable proceeding, the worst kind of government an *Ochlocratie*, the rule of Rascallie. All these in their times did *Athens* feele, for they were governed by Kings foure hundred eightie seaven yeares: the last of which was *Codrus*, who in a fight between the *Dorienses* and *Athenians* offered himselfe willingly to be slaine, it being foretold by the Oracle of *Apollo* that the *Dorienses* should be conquerours unlesse the *Athenian* King were killed, he therefore cloathing himselfe *famulari veste ne posset agnoscī*, saies a *Cicero*, with a servants habit least he should be known a *Tusc. Q. l. 11.*

known, put himselfe among the enemies, by one of which in a brawle he was murdered. After whom none enjoyed the name of King, <sup>b</sup>*quod memoria nominis ejus tributum est*, which was done in memory to his name. For after that, *Archontes* or *Judges* ruled; in the Title *ἄρχοντες*, *Archontes*, but in power Kings, whose authority was for tearm of life. These continued three hundred and fifteen yeares. These being ended, it pleased the State to choose a man, whose office should continue but tenne yeares; seaven succeeded each other, and made up the number of seaventy yeares; who, because they abused their power, were made but for one yeare, called therefore <sup>c</sup>*ἅμιν* *Magistratus*, yearely Magistrates. These continued untill *Pisistratus* for a fained fear of the seditious, begged a guard of the people for his safetie, For when the faction sprung up, of which I have spoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himselfe with lashes, and the Mules which drew his Chariot, went into the place of meeting, <sup>d</sup>*ἔπειτα*, and beseeching the people to afford him some defence against their violence, who did (but did not) assault him, procured a company of chosen Citizens who armed with clubs, not weapons, possessed the Castle, and so Tyranny came in, which *Pisistratus* enjoyed <sup>e</sup> thirty yeares, and deceased, leaving behind him two sonnes, *Hippiarchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Thessalus*. *Hippiarchus* was slaine by *Aristogiton*, after whose death the *Athenians* lived under a tyranny foure yeares, from which they were delivered by the help of the *Lacedemonians*, the offspring of *Alcmaeon* corrupting the Oracle, to the end that whensoever they came for counsell he should wish them to free the *Athenians* of that servitude. The *Democracie* came in eight hundred sixtie eight yeares after *Cecrops*, established by *Solon*, who excluded the fift rank of plebeity from office or honour by a law afterwards abrogated by *Aristides*. After this *Pericles* brought in an *Ochlocratie* by weakning the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in Sicily

<sup>b</sup> Justin. 1. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Justin. 1. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Heraclides in Pol.

<sup>e</sup> Herodotus 1. 5. p. 135.



ly the Τετρακοσιοι or foure hundred took upon them state, deceiving the people, as *f Aristotle* and *Thucydides* affirme. *f* Pol. l. c. 57. For perswading them that they should reconcile *Tissaphernes* *g* Lib. 8. and *Alcibiades* unto themselves by that meanes, and that the Persian Monarch would afford supply for the war, they most willingly condescended to this motion in the one and twentie yeare of the *Peloponnesian* war. These princes were called *a* πεντακισχίλιοι, τετρακοσιοὶ ὄντες, Five thousand, though *a* Plat. in Alc. cyb. p. 148. not exceeding foure hundred. The reason is, because they boasted that none should be rewarded, but who bare armes, nor any admitted to publique power but five thousand, such as with person and estate could be beneficiall to the Republique. Their authority was granted by an *b* Act of the people, *b* Xen. Ell. β. 274. l. 38. to which *Theramenes* was very forward, but after they were inducted, none more ready to drive out; whereupon they termed him *κόδορον* *Cothurnum*, from a kind of start-up which *c* Xen. p. 275. did fit both feet. *κ* καὶ ὁ Κόδορον ἀσφόηεν μὲν πῖς ποσὶν ἀμφότεροις δὲ καὶ. The word may sute with a lack of both sides. These *Τετρακοσιοὶ* were constrained for feare of *d Alcibiades* *d* Justin. l. 5. to resigne the right unto the people, and to goe into wilfull banishment. But when *Lysander* had overcome *Athens* (the *e* *Lacedemonians* ever affecting an *Oligarchie*, as the *Athenians* a *Democratie*) he ordained these thirty to be chiefe. *f* *Po-* *e* Arist. Pol. l. 5. *lyarches*, *Critias*, *Melobius*, *Hippolochus*, *Euclides*, *Hiero*, *f* *Xen* Ell. c. 6. p. *Mnesilochus*, *Chremo*, *Theramenes*, *Aresias*. *Diocles*, *Phædras*, *270.* *Cherileos*, *Anatius*, *Piso*, *Sophocles*, *Eratosthenes*, *Charicles*, *Onomochles*, *Theognis*, *Æschines*, *Theogenes*, *Cleomedes*, *Erasistratus*, *Phido*, *Dracontides*, *Eumathes*, *Aristoteles*, *Hippomachus*, *Mnesithides*. These began at first to put to death the worst and most abhorred, saies *g Salust*, without triall of law; *g* In Catil. Consp. but afterwards the good and bad alike; *b* some for envy, *o-* *b* Xen. p. 272. thers for riches. These to make their partie firme chose about three thousand to whom alone they permitted to have weapons, disarming all the rest, to the end they might easily command their lives. But by their lawes ( for they made some

- i Xen.p.275. some, stiled i *ἑνὸς νόμοι*, which were nullified by a decree, as we shall speak hereafter) none was to suffer *ἐπὶ τὰ τάλαντα*, who was registred in the list of three thousand. So cruel were they, that the people fled into k *Phyle* a castle in the
- k Dem.p.467. *Athenian* borders; and making an head under the conduct of *Thrasybulus*, at last shook off this yoke, and remained free untill the death of *Alexander* even fourescore yeares, whom *Antipater* succeeded; who in battle at the Citie *Lamia* gave the *Athenians* an overthrow; and gave them quarters on these termes that they should submit to a few *Peers*, whose revenues amounted to two thousand *Drachmes* at least, the chief of whom was *Demetrius Phalareus*, that they should likewise receive a garrison into *Munychia* for the asswaging of riots and uproares. But foure yeares after, *Antipater* dying, the Citie fell into the power of *Cassander*, of whom they often strove to acquit themselves. But in vaine. For he brought them to such an exigencie, that they were glad to come to composition. And indeed he dealt fairely with them, giving them their Citie, Territories, Tributes, and all other things, so that they would be confederates to him, that none, whose revenues come not to tenne *mina* or pounds, should undergoe any function in the Common-weale; and he should be their overseer whom he would be pleased to nominate. The man appointed was *Demetrius Phalareus*, a who made the Citie to shine in her full lustre, insomuch that they erected in honour of him three hundred Statues. He wrote a Treatise of the *Athenian Republique*, which had not time devoured, would have given no small light to my poore endeavours. After he in trouble and vexation had spent foureteen yeares, he was put out by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, surnamed *Poliorcestes*, who restored the ancient customes to them againe. To him they ascribed such worship, as also to his father, that they changed the name of their Judge from *Archon* into *ἑσθητὴρ ἱερέας*. The Priest of the Gods that saved them, calling the yeare after his name, and adding b two Tribes to the

a Vide Laert.  
in vita, & Strabo  
bonem.

b Plut in Demetrio.  
c Pollux. l. 8.

<sup>c</sup> In Berenice.

the Tenne, whence the Senate consisted of six hundred, but five before, as <sup>c</sup> *Stephanus*. But when *Cassander* had overthrowne the sonne and father, such was the ingratitude and levitie of the *Athenians*, that they forbad *Demetrius* to approach nere their City. After this *Lacharis* plaid the Tyrant, and was expelled by *Demetrius*; whom they utterly cast off, assuming againe the title of *Archon*. *Demetrius* dying *Antigonus Gonatis* succeeded, who in the nineteenth year of his reigne put in presidarie souldiers to the Citie, which tenne yeares after he took out. The *Macedonians* still kept some of the *Athenians* forces in this space. *Demetrius Antigonis Gon. F. & Antigonus Doson*, out of whose hands <sup>d</sup> *Aratus* the *Sicyonian* rescued the Citie, and made it stand by it selfe untill *Philip*, the last king of the *Macedonian Monarchy* except one, did somewhat shake it, as you may read in *Livius*. But he was expelled by the *Romans*, who took the *Athenians* into league, with a maintaining of their ancient right. So they remained untill the warre between *Methridates* and the *Romans*. For by feare they were driven to receave <sup>f</sup> *Archistratus*, *Methridates* his Generall, within their walls; against which *Sylla* laid siege, and captivated the City, whence proceeded <sup>g</sup> *Aratus* *Corymbus*, a mercilesse slaughter, saies *Appian*, that the <sup>g</sup> streets did runne with blood. But the Lawes were not much altered by this Conquerour, and therefore they lived in a neere resemblance of their former state; in favour with the *Roman Emperours*; *Julius Caesar*, *Adrian*, *Antonius*, *Gallienus*, in whose successours time, *Claudius*, the second of that name, this City was ransacked by the *Goths*, who when they had heaped up innumerable companies of bookes to burne, were dehorted by this reason, *that the Greekes, spending their time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for war*. *Constantine the Great* likewise had this City in high esteeme, taking to himselfe the Title of *Στρατηγός Αθηνών*, as <sup>b</sup> *Julian* saies, which in the words of *Nicephorus Gregoras* is <sup>c</sup> *ὁ τὸ μέγας Δεσπότης (ὄνομα)* the *Grand Duke*, whom simply afterwards

<sup>d</sup> *Plut. in vita.*

<sup>e</sup> *Decad. 4. l. 1.*

<sup>f</sup> Vide *Appianum Alex.* in *Methridatico* circa pag. 122. 123. &c.  
<sup>g</sup> *Plut. in vita* p. 335.

<sup>a</sup> *Cedrenus* *Baptista Eg-*  
*nati.* *Rom.* *Prin. l. 1.*

<sup>b</sup> In *Oratione* *Constantium.*  
<sup>c</sup> *Hist. Rom.* 1. 7. p. 166.



d Hist. Rom.  
l. 7. p. 167.  
e Nic. Greg.  
lib. citat.

f Calcochon.  
κελτικόνες  
στο Νάξος.

\* In the time of  
Pietro Zani  
came ambassa-  
dors from A-  
thens to doe ho-  
mage to the Ve-  
netian Senate.  
M. Leukenor in  
history and lives  
of the Venetian  
Princes.  
g Chalcocon.  
l. 9. p. 299.

wards they called the <sup>d</sup> *Duke of Athens*, in that Historians time. Emperours have taken them wives, citizens of this place; and the <sup>e</sup> daughters of their Dukes have been desired by that eminent ranke. And indeed no marvell. For they were potent. *Rainerius Acciajolus* is said to have taken the Citie from the *Spaniards* that inhabit *Arragon*, <sup>εἶχον δὲ ὃ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ</sup>; who having no issue male of his wife *Eubois*, but an illegitimate named *Antonius*, by another woman, bequeathed by will *Bæotia* and *Thebes* to him, but *Athens* to the <sup>\*</sup> *Venetians*, from whom his sonne recovered it againe. *Nerius* succeded him in the Dukedome who thrust out *Chalcocondylas* his father. After him came in *Antonius Nerius* brother to the former *Nerius*. Now about this time we must know that *Mahomet* the sonne of *Amurat* the second got *Athens*, <sup>g</sup> whose beauty and building he held in admiration; which when he had made his own, he continued the Title. For another *Nerius* from those above named dying, leaving one sonne an infant, his mother in the childs Title exercised Tyranny. This woman loved a *Venetian* Noble man (sonne to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whose government the Citie *Nauplium* was committed, he is called by *Chalcocondylas*, *Priamus*) who came thither for merchandize. Him by discourse and flattery she entised into her love, promising that she would take him to her husband, and give up the Principedome of *Athens* unto him. But upon condition, that he would divorce his own wife. Whereupon the young man going to *Venice* slew his wife, swelling with ambition, and thirsty of honour. Which being done, he returnes to *Athens*, marries this woman, enioes the government of the Citie; who being hated of the *Athenians*, and complained of at the Court, to avoid envy termed himselfe the *Childs* Tutor. And not long after taking the boy with him, went to the Court; where *Francus Acciajolus* waited, expecting to be promoted to the Dukedome. When the Emperour therefore understood the folly of the woman, he gave the title to him. Who being enstalled, imprisoned

prisoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by means not known to the *a* Author) slew her. This *Francus* in time *a* Chalcocon.p. 300. was taken away from men by *Zogan* governour of *Pe- loponnesus*, *Mahomet* having intelligence that the *Athenians* would have delivered the *Citie* to the Prince of *Bœotia*. He was the last Duke;

E 2

LIB.





## LIBER SECVNDVS.

## CAP. I.

*Duodecim Dii Atheniensium Idololatria septisariam  
commissa. Dii Adscriptitii. Θεός Ἀγνώστου.*

*a* Pag. 48.

*b* In Tractu  
ὡς ἡ ὁδὸς τε  
κακὸν θεῖα.  
p. 669.



*Herodotus* in *a* *Terpsichore* is of opinion, that the Greeks derived their religion from the *Egyptians*. But *b* *Plutarch* doth stoutly deny it. And not without good testimonie may I affirme that it seems to bee a falsitie. For *Orpheus* is thought to have brought the my-

*c* Sch. Eurip.  
in *Alcest.* pag.  
661.

*d* *Ξωγ.* ἵσθι.  
in *Stel.* 1.

*e* Pag. 260.

*f* P. 281.

steries of piety into *Greece*, who was himseife a *Thracian*, from whom the word *c* *θεῖσις* is supposed to be drawn, which signifies devotion. Τὸ ἐν τῷ ἡμῶν θεὸς ἐκάλεισαν θρησκείαν, ὡς Ὁρακλῆς ἔπος τ' εὐρέστω, saies *d* *Nonnus*. They called *θεῖσις* *θεῖσις*, to worship God, &c. Appositely to which *e* *Aristophanes* ἐν *Βατράχοις*.

Ὁ θεὸς μὴ δ' τελετὰς θ' ἡμῶν κατεδείξε, οὐδ' ὅν τ' ἀπέχεσθαι.  
*Orpheus shewed us sacrifices, and to abstaine from slaughter. Ne-*  
*ther is f* *Euripides* disagreeing in *Rheso*.

*Μυσείων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων θανάτων.*

*Εδείξεν Ὀρφεύς* — *Orpheus revealed the hidden myste-*  
*ries. Herodotus* names not the Gods, the worship of Whom  
the *Greeks* might borrow from the *Egyptians*; Twelve in  
number



number they were, quoth he, but these onely are reckoned. Jupiter. Bacchus. Hercules. Apollo. Mars. Pan. Diana. Isis or Ceres. Sais or Minerva. Latona. as I have gathered, which all at once to have been made known to the Greeks, and that by the Egyptians is too hard a task for me to prove. The Athenians I am sure had twelve Gods in especiall honour, whose pictures they had drawn out in a Gallery in Ceramicus; and had an Altar erected, called *ἡ Βαυὸς ἢ δὲ Σέβας* Pauf. Attic. p. 3. l. 8. *Θεῶν*, on which a little before the Sicilian warre, a man dis- b Plut. in Ni- cia. p. 387. l. 26. membered himselfe with a stone; which was accounted prodigious. By these twelve would they swear in common discourse. *ἰ Μα τὸν δὲ Σέβας Θεῶν*. The heathens thinking that they did honour thole Gods by whom they swear; as I have else- Aristoph. Equ. p. 300. A. where spoken. Bnt they were not confined to so small a number as twelve. For how could it be, when they ran through the seaven sorts of Idolatrie? First worshipping the Sunne, & punishing with death the neglect thereof; as you may read in *Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles*. Secondly, deifying the effects of God, as bread, &c. For *Clemens Alexandrinus* interprets *Θνῶ*, Ceres, *ἢ σῖτον*, corne or food. Thirdly, the poeti- b Vide Podi- num in Demo- nologia. call Gods. *Furies*, and revengers of wickednesse, as *Alastores*, *Palamnai*. Fourthly, the Passions, as Love, Pittie. Injurie like- wise and Impudences, to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at Athens. Fifthly the accidents of growth and nourishment. hence *Auxo*, and *Thallo* two deities; *ἡ Ἐξίς*, to increafe, and *ἡ Σάσις*, to flourish; to which may be put *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos*, the three fatall sisters, and *ἡ Ἀναγκή*, *Necessitie*, taken sometime for death it selfe. Sixthly, the Theogonie or pedigree of their Gods, able to make up the summe of which *Homer* speaks. *Τρεῖς ἑκατόντοι*, &c. Three thousand. Seaventhly, an ignorance of the providence and bountie of God toward them, fained *Hercules* the repeller of evill, and *Esculapius* the God of Physick. And if this serve not, I can adde an eighth way, namely hospitality and good entertainment of strange Gods. *Ἀλλὰ μὲν δ' ὡς περ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενίας διατελεῖ, ἔτι τῶ*

<sup>a</sup> Pag. 471.

<sup>b</sup> In Panath.

T. I. p. 188.

<sup>c</sup> Strab. p. 587.

<sup>d</sup> Act. Apost.

c. 17. v. 18.

<sup>e</sup> In Attic. p. 1.

l. 35.

<sup>f</sup> Vide Eurip.

Sch. in Med. p.

482.

<sup>g</sup> Pag. 137.

ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. saies. <sup>a</sup> Strabo, as the Athenians love forrai-  
ners, so forraine Gods. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον καὶ οἱ ἀλλογενεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
Θεοῦ, &c. <sup>b</sup> Aristides. For they serve not onely the most an-  
cient Deities, in a peculiar manner above all their followers,  
but have assumed adventitious ones, such as <sup>c</sup> Orthane, Conis-  
falus, and Tychon. So prone were they to conceive superstiti-  
on, that when <sup>d</sup> Paul preached *Iesus and the resurrection of the*  
*dead*; they forthwith deemed *Anastasin*, or resurrection to be  
a God. And lest they should omit any, they erected Altars  
to the unknown Gods, of which <sup>e</sup> Pausanias. Neither may  
we doubt of it, the Scripture bearing witnesse. The cause of  
this they say to be a fearefull vision appearing to *Philippides*,  
sent Ambassador to the *Lacedæmonians* concerning aid against  
the *Persians*, and complaining that he (<sup>f</sup> *Pan*, from whom *πα-  
ννών* à *spectrum*) was neglected, and other Gods worshipped;  
promising likewise his helpe, they therefore being victorious,  
and fearing the like event, built a Temple, and Altar TO THE  
UNKNOWN GOD. Another opinion is, that a plague  
being at *Athens* hot, and the people finding no help from the  
Gods they implored, surmising some other power to have  
sent the disease, whereupon they set up this Altar, on which  
was written ΘΕΟΙΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ καὶ ΕΥΡΩΠΗΣ καὶ ΑΦΡΙΚΗΣ, Θεῷ Ἀγνώστῳ καὶ  
Ξένῳ. TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE, AND AFRI-  
CA, TO THE VKNOWN AND STRANGE GOD.  
As <sup>g</sup> *Iustin g Martyr* and *Oecumenius*. Much may be said  
of their Tutelar Gods, both for their Cities and houses,  
much of their *Heroes* or Demigods. We will view them in  
order.

CAP. II.

*Jupiter* βασιλεύς. Νέμωσ. Ἰκέσθ. Πολιεύχως. Βελαῖθ. Φεάτεθ.  
 φίλιος. Ομόγυνθ. καταβάτης. Ἐρκιος. Αγοραίθ. Ξένιθ. *Mo-*  
*dii salis edendi, Tassera hospitalis seu Symbolum.* *Apollo*  
 ὑποτέπειθ. πατὴρθ. Αλεξίπικος. Ουρεῖθ. Ράαν, θ. *eiusdem*  
*verbi origo.* *Mercurius* Παισιόπικθ. Εεύνηθ. Στεροαῖθ. Πε-  
 πύλαιθ.

**A** Above other of their Gods *Jupiter* was had in high e-  
 steeme. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when  
 the *Athenians* were bidden to dissolve their Kingdoms, they  
 were charged to make choice of *Jupiter*, <sup>a</sup> θεσπέσιος θ Δία <sup>a</sup> Sch. Aristop.  
 βασιλέα. And so by <sup>b</sup> *Aristophanes* he is called Ζεύς Βασιλεύς. p. 122.  
 Him they worshipped as *President of Law and Justice*, under <sup>b</sup> in Nubibus  
 the name of *Jupiter* <sup>c</sup> *Nemius* (different from that of *Corinth* <sup>c</sup> Dem. in  
 named Νέμιθ) Him as *God of supplicants*, hence διέσθ, Him <sup>d</sup> Mid. p. 251.  
 as *Protector of Citties*, hence πολιεύχθ. Him as *Governour and* Dem. p. 273.  
*director of their counsells*, hence βελαῖθ. Him as *cheife of their* Paus. p. 18. l.  
*Societies*, hence φεάτεθ, and of their friendship too, hence φί- 40. Who thinks  
 λθ; and of kindred likewise, hence ομόγυνθ. To him they a-  
 scribed *Thunder*, hence <sup>e</sup> Ζεύς καταβάτης, as much as comming <sup>e</sup> Sylla to be eaten  
 downe in thunder. To him they thankfully acknowledged <sup>f</sup> *Aristion*  
 their delivery from the *Persians*, wrought by *Themistocles*, <sup>f</sup> *suppliantly fly-*  
 hence <sup>f</sup> *ελάδσειθ*. Him they confessed the *greatest of all*, hence <sup>g</sup> *ing to the Temple*  
<sup>g</sup> *ὕπαλθ*. Him the *overseer of their buying and selling*, hence <sup>h</sup> *of Minerva.*  
<sup>h</sup> *Αγορεῖθ*. To him stood an Altar sacred in the *courts of their* <sup>i</sup> Aristoph. A-  
*houses*, hence *Jupiter Herceus*, from Ἑρκος a wall, as if he <sup>j</sup> Plut. & Paus.  
 were the watch and defender of the house. *Phavorinus*. <sup>k</sup> *Ερκίε* <sup>k</sup> Pausan.  
 Διὸς Ερκίε ἐξ ὅτε ἔκλειπεν τὸ αὐτὸν αἶθερθ. <sup>l</sup> *Ἡ* <sup>l</sup> *ἑκείν, ἐκ ὅθεν* <sup>l</sup> Aristoph.  
 Διὸς Ερκίε ἐκ ἑρκος. There was also an Altar to him before the <sup>m</sup> P. 3 17.  
 gates, of which <sup>n</sup> *Ovid*. -- Ante ades stabat Jovis Hospitis ara,  
 hence *Jupiter Xenius*, as if he were the *God of strangers and*  
*hospitality*. So solemne were they in their entertainements,  
 that



i Eustath. in Il.  
s.

k Pag. 27. Eust

Eustath. saies  
that they did  
set salt before  
any other meat  
to st anger's.

l Demosth. p.  
241.

m Tzetzes in  
Lycoph. p. 28.

n Cic. de A-  
micitia. Eu-

stath. saies  
that it beto-

kens love per-

manent. For  
salt preserves.

And as it is  
made of many

lettings in of  
water, so they

who come from  
divers places by

hospitality are  
made one.

In il. p. 100.

o In Acharn.  
p. 414. vide  
Sch.

p Eustath. in  
Il. l.

q Eurip. Sch.  
p. 446.

a As πολίτης.

Aristophan.  
ὄμβροτον.

Pausan. &c.

b Aristophan.  
πλ. p. 86.

that they would not receive a stranger without great ceremonies, such as giving of the right hand each to other *ἰμωτε-  
ως δὴλω τὸν*, a most certaine signe of fidelity, and security; as also washing and cleansing with salt, or salt water, as *ἡ Τζε-  
τες* on *Lycophron*; whence it is called *ἐνίμης παῖρος*. Salt they highly esteemed of, ever ubraiding violated hospitality with *ἡ παῖρες*, &c. where is the salt? And yet it may be thought to be said of the community of the table *ἡ ἐδῶν-τῶν δὴλόντων  
μὴ κακὴρ εἶναι τὸν ὁμογεγεῖταις ἢ συγγενέσι*, customes shewing that fellow commoners, and such as feed of the same table must not injure one another, to which the old saying may well agree, *multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitia munus expletum sit*, Men must eat many bushels of salt together, before they can be perfect friends; meaning that friendship is not to be soone established. But I take salt, of the lustration, to which also they added fire, as you may see in *ο* *Aristophanes*. Neither was this all, for they sacrificed moreover, calling *Jupiter* to witnesse, and using these words in the time of sacrifice. *πεῖς δὲ δία θεῖον ἐμαρτεῖν, εἰ ποιεῶ ἔσθαι*. Let my trespassse be against *Jupiter Xenius*, if I offend, contemne, or neglect strangers. And for the continuation of this even to their posterity they were wont to cut an huckle bone in two, the one partie keeping one piece, the other party the other halfe, that when occasion or necessity should make either of them stand in need of other, *οἱ παρῆντες τὸ ἥμισυ ἐσπαύλιον, ἀναγείναι τὴν ξενίαν*, bringing with them their halfe hucklebone they might renew their hospitality. This they call *σύμβολον* *Symbolum* a token, which sometimes they would send to their acquaintance in others behalfe, as *Jason* in *Euripides* offers to *Medea* to doe. *τίμηται πένοντι σύμβολ' ὅτι δεχέσθαι σ' εἰ*. And to send a *Symbolum* or token to strangers that shall courteously entertaine you. But of this enough, as also of *Jupiter*, whom celebrated in other Epithires I know by the Athenians. *Apollo* was next in request to *Jupiter*, invocated in danger or sudden events, hence *α* *Αποτρεῖσθαι*, from *ἀποτρέπειν*, to turn away, as if he

he should deliver them from eminent evill, for which reason he is called *Alexicacus*, <sup>c</sup> *Apollinem aspellentem mala intelligas, quem Athenienses* *Ἀλεξικακόν* appellant. He was one of the first Gods they had, hence is he termed *d* *πατὴρ*, but <sup>e</sup> others think because he was the father of *Ion*. <sup>f</sup> *Macrob.* is of opinion, because the *Sun* the same with *Apollo* is the Author of progenerating all things, *quod sol humoribus exsiccatis progenerandis omnibus præbuit causam*. To him wood Altars in their streets, hence is he *ἄγχι*, as if he were set over their waies <sup>g</sup> *Illi enim vias, quæ intra pomaria sunt, ἄγχι*. This *Agæus* was a sharp pillar. <sup>b</sup> *κίον ὃν ἔστιν ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλω*. Although the *Greeks*, as <sup>i</sup> *Macrob.* saies, did worship him as *Θυεαῖον, exitus & intritus potentem*, one that kept the dores of their houses, yet I find no monument of that Title in *Pausanias*. Famous he was for the name of *Paan*, of which though I have taken occasion to speak elsewhere, yet this is a most proper place. I will not trouble you with the trivial derivations of the *Greeks*, which you read in <sup>k</sup> *Athenæus*. When the *Athenians* asked help of the Oracle at *Delphus* against the *Amazons*, in the daies of *Theseus*, The God bid them implore his succor in these words *ἰὲ Παιάν*. <sup>l</sup> *Hanc vocem, id est, ἰὲ Παιάν, confirmasse fertur Oraculum Delphicum Atheniensibus, petentibus opem Dei adversus Amazonas, Theseo regnante. Namque inituros bellum jussit his ipsis verbis semetipsum auxiliatorem invocari, hortarique.* I doubt not but the words are changed somewhat, especially if we consider the ancient *ἰὸ Παάν*. <sup>m</sup> *Paan* saies the *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes* is a song or hymne praying for the ceasing of a plague, or war, nay for the preventing of apparent hurt. The originall of <sup>n</sup> *Scaliger* hath already found, *ἰαο*, & *ἰο* being contracted by the *Greeks* for *Jehova*, *Paan* then comes from *ἰαο* to look, so that *ἰὸ Παάν* is in force *Jehova Pench*. LORD LOOK UPON US, it being a craft of the Di velt to come as neere as possibly he may to God, so to bereave him of his deare honour, if he could. The remnants of these words the <sup>o</sup> *Symerons*

<sup>c</sup> *Macrob. Sat.*

<sup>i</sup> *p. 253.*

<sup>d</sup> *Aristoph.*

<sup>e</sup> *Nub. p. 203.*

<sup>f</sup> *Aristop. Sch.*

<sup>g</sup> *p. 611 g.*

<sup>f</sup> *Satur. 1. p. 257.*

<sup>g</sup> *Macrob.*

<sup>Sat. 1. c. 9.</sup>

<sup>b</sup> *Schol Eurip.*

<sup>Phæ. p. 322.</sup>

<sup>i</sup> *Sat. 1. c. 9.*

<sup>l</sup> *In fin. lib. 14.*

<sup>Dip.</sup>

<sup>l</sup> *Macrob. Sat. 1.*

<sup>1. c. 17. p. 253.</sup>

<sup>m</sup> *In Plut. p. 68.*

<sup>n</sup> *Græc. Trag.*

<sup>o</sup> *Vide Sir*

*Fr. Drake.*

- a people of the West Indies use, who in their fighting dance, and leap, and sing *Yó Pebo*, at this day. *Mercury* is hallowed by the name of *παλιγγαπιδ* or *εμπολα*, deemed to be the God whose favour could enrich Merchants and Tradesmen. He is the God of craft, so by consequence he that is cunning to cheat may soon grow rich, wherefore this God is termed *εὐερί*, *Very profitable*, from *εἶ*, an augmenting word, and *ερί* to profit. He had a statue erected to him in the Market place called *εὐερί* *Ἀγορά*. The entry of their houses was sacred to him, from which he is named *περπύλαι*, as likewise *στεροαῖος* from *στέρειν*, to turne, because he was set up behind the dore to keep away thieves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villanie. More of his names you may read in *c Aristoph. Schol.*
- p Aristop. πλ. p. 110. Ach. p. 410.
- q Aristop. βατερ. p. 266.
- a Aristop. 304.
- b Paus. p. 20. l. 35.
- c Pag. 110.

## CAP. III.

*De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte,  
Hercule. ἀνάκτες.*

- Saturne* was worshipped by the *Athenians*, witnesse the feasts kept in honour to him called *Κρόνια*; witnesse a *Temple* which he had in *Athens*. Of his antiquitie I cannot much affirme any thing. He seemes to have been of old, as I conjecture out of *κερυνί γινώσκει*, *Saturnina anima*, put for dotage proverbially. *Vulcan* likewise had his honour there, and a Temple, of which *Demosthenes*: where was one of the *Athenian* prisons; some controversies in law in it decided, as I gather out of *g Demosthenes*. *Neptune* was an ancient Patron of this Citie, which he loved even to strife. He was feared for securitie in navigation, hence *h' Ἀκούλει*. *Mars* also had his worship, and Temple, and *Hercules* too, who in a dreame appeared to *Sophocles*, revealing unto him the sacrifice of one who had stolen a golden cup out of his Temple: called therefore *Μινυτής* or *Index Hercules*, as *kTully*. Neither
- d Paus. p. 16. l. 32.
- e Aristop. ωλ. p. 61.
- f P. 536. n. 26.
- g παρ. π. 27. Απατ.
- h Aristop. p. 403.
- i Paus. p. 7. l. 27.
- k De divinatione. l. 1.



Neither were they contented with such a quantity, but canonized more daily, as the sonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, naming them ἀνακτες. κ' ἀνακῶς ἔχον τὸ ἐπιμελεμένους ἢ φυλάττοντας ὅτιον· καὶ τὸ βασιλεὺς ἴσως ἀνακτας διὰ τὸτο καλεῖσιν. <sup>l</sup> Plut. Thef. p. 11. l. 25.

For they who have a care & watch of any thing do diligently observe it ἀνακῶς ἔχον. For which Kings perhaps are called ἀνακτες, as keepers of their people. <sup>m</sup> The Scholiast of *Euripides* teaches us that ἀναξ properly signifieth a Saviour. So *Pan* is said to be Ἀναξ Κυλλήνης, the Tutelar God of *Cyllene*. And *Apollo* in *Homer* θεὸς ἱρι ἀνάσσει. The word is simply put for God in *Aristophanes*, *P* τὸ ἐν θεῷ Ἀνακτας καὶ Σωτῆρας καλεῖται. To these may be put *Harmonius* and *Aristogiton*. *Ly-* <sup>q</sup> In Athen. att. l. 3. c. 1. & 7. <sup>r</sup> Plut. in. Th. p. 2. l. 14.

*cus*. *Thesens*. *Alon*. *Hesychus*. *Aristomachus* the Phisitian. *Celeus* and *Metanira*. And many more (of whom see *q* *Meursius*) made of Men, as *Silanion* and *Perrhasius* that made the statue of *r* *Thesens*.

CAP. IV.

*De Minerva, Cerere & Proserpina, Baccho, Venere, Eumenidibus, Hecate, Junone, Promethio, &c.*

**M***inerva* the especiall deity of the *Athenians*, had the Festivals called *Panathenaea*, of which you may fully read in *Meursius*. Next to her *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, whose rites *longè maximis & occultissimis ceremoniis continentur*, <sup>a</sup> saies *Cicero*, were greatest and most hidden: therefore calld *mysteria* from *μυστεῖν*, to hide; death and a curse lying on him who should disclose those abominable secrets. See *Meursius* in his *d Eleusinia*, of the initiation into these stews. They were of two sorts. <sup>e</sup> Greater to *Ceres*, lesse to *Proserpina*. *Bacchus* also the son of *Ceres* had his Temple allotted and a double tide holy to him. *Dionysia* *f parva* and *g Magna*. *Venus* had her honour and sacrifice, in which they offered to her money the price of an whore. <sup>i</sup> *Eumenides* were first a-

<sup>f</sup> In Panath.  
<sup>a</sup> In Panath.  
<sup>b</sup> Nonnus ad Naz. snl.  
<sup>c</sup> Vide Plut. in Alcib.  
<sup>d</sup> Cap. 7.  
<sup>e</sup> Aristop. Sch. p. 85.  
<sup>f</sup> Arist. p. 222.  
<sup>g</sup> Idem. p. 123.  
<sup>h</sup> Clem. Alex. p. 19.  
<sup>i</sup> Vide Æsch. in Eumen. & Sch. Sophan. Oed. Col.

dored by *Orestes* after he escaped the judgment at Athens in *Areopagus* for killing his mother *Clytemnestra*. These by *Hesiod* are called *Erinnyes*, by the Athenians Σεμνὰ θεαί, the venerable Goddesses. To these they offered drink offerings, without wine though at midnight, a custome peculiar to them alone, as *Æschylus* witnesseth, though I am not ignorant that *Bacchus* his feasts were kept in the night, whence he is called *Nictelins*. But the Tragædian.

k In Theogonia.  
l Paus. p. 27. l. 3.  
m In Eumen. p. 275.  
n Aristop. p. 228.

o Loco citato.

ο κ' ὅτι καὶ τεύχεα δειπνῶν ἐπ' ἐχάσθαι πρὸς  
ἑστῶν ὡρῶν ἐδιδόκετο κοινῶς θεῶν.

p In Oedipo.  
Col. p. 271.

q Æschylus loco præd.

r Vide Interp.  
Hor. in illud  
Diva triformis.  
s Aristop. Sch. p. 63.  
t Pag. 64.

u In Orat. ὡς  
ὁρῶντα.  
p. 693. n. 59.

\* In Nubes.  
p. 176.

x In Plut. 63.

Scholiast: ἐν γὰρ τῇ μυσσηνικῇ νόμῳ εἰρηνοῦσιν ἀπέρχοντο. By *P Sophocles* the manner of oblation is set down. First having cleane hands and pure, the worshipper ought to draw out of a running fountaine water, and having filled three cups with water and honey (hence termed *ῥεφάλια μελίγυατα*) the mouthes and eares of which are to be covered with the wool of a young sheep, turning himselfe towards the East, he powdered some of two of them, but the third wholly; then with both hands setting thrice nine branches of Olive on the place where he casts his *χρῆς*, he uttered out his conceived supplications. Other sacrifices they had as shall be shortly spoken. *Hecate* was worshipped by them in *trivius*, where three wayes met, supposed to be the Moon in Heaven, *Diana* on earth, and *Hecate* below. To her the richer sort every new Moone made a feast in the crosse waies setting bread and other provision, which the poore greedily fed on, and were so ravenous after, that *Penia* in *Aristophanes*, complains that they snacht it, before it could be laid downe. Reference to this hath *ἑστιάα κατεδίεν*, to eat the cates of *Hecate*, in *Demosthenes*, which he seemes to object, as a fordid or wicked thing. Indeed *εὐμολόχῳ*, which signifies one that privily taketh away any of the sacrifices from the altar, imports sometimes *impious*, *βυμολόχῳ ἀσεβῆς*. Schol. \* *Aristoph.* And yet the same Scholiast tels us that the needy sustained themselves by the sacrifices. x *καὶ οἱ ἱερῶν γὰρ οἱ πτωχοὶ ζῶσι*. *Juno's* rites were

were performed in great pomp with hair over their shoulders and down the back, in a vesture that swept the ground, their armes bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces so minced, that ἡραίων βαδίζεν, *Funonium incedere*, is to go stately. *Promethæus* was worshipped in a kind of Torch dance, or running with linkes or lamps, it may be in memoriall of the fire, which superstitiously they beleevd him to have stolne out of heaven. To say more of their Gods were needlesse either for you to read, or me to write. More they had, among whom *Pan* was of a latter making, introduced by the *Philippides*, and \* *Σφραγτιδὲς Νύμφαι*. *Sphragitides Nymphae* after the *Persian* overthrow.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Schortum In Proverb. Isaac. Caulab. in Athen. l. 12. c. 5. p. 388. <sup>b</sup> Cl. Alex. p. 22. \* Plut. Arist. p. 240. l. 30.

CAP. V.

Θεοὶ ἀνδράλει. Ερμῆαι. *Phacasi Dii.*

**T**HE *Athenians* before their doors erected statues which they called θεοὶ ἀνδράλει, because they were exposed to the Sunne. Neither had they these alone, but certaine others sacred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes Hermæ Mercurials*. The fashion of them was divers. For first they were not ἀνταύνοι, porrecto veretro, but made after to that forme by the *Athenians*, who received it from the *Pelajgi*, as <sup>d</sup> *Herodotus*. Neither did they want legs, untill the *Athenians* made them ἀπόλοι, according to <sup>e</sup> *Pausanias*. The manner was this, <sup>A</sup> face of *Mercury* set upon a pillar of four corners. The head only and neck were shapen, and therefore it was called *truncus* <sup>e</sup> *Hermes*, <sup>f</sup> *Juvenal*,

<sup>c</sup> Vide Hesychium, & Dionysium Peta-vium in Themistium.

<sup>d</sup> In Euterpe p. 48.

<sup>e</sup> In Atticis d. 22. l. 14.

<sup>f</sup> Sat. v. 852.

<sup>g</sup> Vide Ulpian. in Dem. p. 332. & G. Langbain

in Notis ad Longinum.

αὐτὸν ὕψος.

*Nil nisi Cecropides, truncoque simillimus Hermæ.*

*Nullo quippe alio vincis discrimine, quam quod*

*Illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.*

For which reason likewise the *Greekes* name them γάρυδες, without limbs. On the lower parts of them were certain verses engraven, containing the praises of some well deserving



men; but the *Herma* on which they wrote the exploits of those that had merited, seeme to me to have been set up in that gallery, which from the number of these images was commonly knowne by 'Ερμῶν Στοά the gallery of *Mercurials*. At the consecration of these they used some ceremonies, and sacrificed a kind of gruell, which was of no great preparation; because they would not stand long about it. Hence χυ-  
 ηταις ἰδρυέσθαι may be said to sacrifice with that which costs but  
 little. h *Aristophanes*. χυῖταις, ὡς ποτὶ μακάριον 'Ερμίδιον;  
*Schol.* Ερμίδιον, ἐν τῇ τῷ ἑλεῖ. in *Pace*. Now to the erecting  
 of their Images it will not be unseasonable to adde something  
 of the forme of their Gods; whom they made standing with  
 their hands upward, as if they were more willing to receive  
 then bestow any thing. To which a *Aristophanes* alludes,  
 saying, -- οὐ γὰρ Θεοί. Γινώσκει δ' ὅτι τῶν χερῶν τε καὶ ἀγχοματών.  
 Όταν γὰρ ἐυχόμεθα διδόναι τι γὰρ δὲ. Ἐστὶν ἐκτείνοντα τὴν χεῖρ ὡς  
 τῶν. Οὐχ' ὡς πῶσοντ' ἀλλ' ὅπως τι λήψεται. *Even the Gods you*  
*shall know by their hands and statues. For when we pray them*  
*to give us some good thing, they stand with their hands upward,*  
*as if they would send down nothing, but rather take oblation.*  
 To tell you likewise that these Idols were clothed, is no news  
 doubtlesse to one meanly versed in the Greeke antiquities.  
 To say that they weare shooes too, is probable, whence they  
 are named *Dii Phocasiani*, from φακάρι, a kind of low shooes  
 which the *Athenians* called κονίσσους, from κόνη, dust, and πῦς,  
 the foot, because they were neare the ground. διὰ τὸ πλάζεν  
 μοι δοκεῖν τῇ κόνῃ τὸ πόδι, saies b *Clemens Alexandrinus*. But  
 more sure I am that they were pictured with them on their

h Pag. 693.

a Concion. p.  
747.b Pæd. l. 2. c. 11.  
p. 152.c Sat. 3. v. 217. feet. c *Juvenal*.

*Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polyclesti*  
*Phacasionorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.*

CAP. VI.

De Superstitione Atheniensium, & vaticiniis.

**L**ong since were the *Athenians* taxed by the Apostle for superstition, which though it properly signifies <sup>d</sup> a worshipping of the Gods too much, yet under it these follies are comprehended. Purification after fearfull dreames, in <sup>e</sup> *Aristophanes* <sup>ὄνειρον ἀποκαλύζειν</sup>. In which sense some understand *Perſius*: *Noctem flumine purgare*. Wearing of rings against witchcraft as a spell, called <sup>f</sup> *δακτυλὸς φαρμακίας*. <sup>g</sup> Spitting into their bosomes thrice at the sight of a mad man, or one troubled with an *Epilepsie*. Of which also *Theocritus*, <sup>πρὶς εἰς</sup> <sup>h</sup> *ἐμὸν ἔπυστα κόλπον*. I knowe not whether the custome of our sillie people have reference to this foppery, who use to spit at the naming of the Divell. Certaine it is that anciently they did spit in defiance, hence <sup>πρὸς</sup> is put for <sup>καταφρονεῖν</sup> and <sup>ἐν</sup> <sup>ἐναντὶ λόγῳ</sup> <sup>τῷ</sup> <sup>θεῷ</sup> to contemne or set little by, as the <sup>h</sup> Scholiast of *Sophocles* on these words, <sup>πῶς αἰεὶ δουλεύει</sup>. Washing with water the head as often as he shall goe into the streets <sup>καὶ κεφαλῆς λούσας</sup>; <sup>i</sup> *Theophrastus*. Anointing of stones, <sup>i</sup> *Charact.* divers it seems from those heaps sacred to *Mercury*, termed <sup>Ἑρμαεῖς</sup>. This hath been of old. Done indeed as a token of thankfulness by <sup>k</sup> *Jacob* in *Bethel*, where he tooke the stone that he put for his pillowes, and set it up, and powred oyle on <sup>l</sup> *Gen.* 28.18. the top of it, in his journey to *Padan Aram*. Hennes crowing, the bold entrance of a\* black dog into their houses, Serpents seen <sup>ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ</sup>, saies *Theophrastus*, of which <sup>a</sup> *Terence*. <sup>a</sup> *In Phor. Ac.* *Introit in ades ater alienus canis. Anguis per impluvium decedit de tegulis. Gallina cecinit.* Put to these <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> *Cat* or *Weesel* <sup>b</sup> *γαλῆ*. <sup>Theoph.</sup> (the word signifieth both) crossing his way, the Mou'se eating his salt bag. Not unlike them now adaies, whose clothes the Rats or Mice shall chance to eat, deemed not long after like to live by our ignorant, or that he shall have great ill beride him

<sup>d</sup> Donat. in

<sup>e</sup> Ter. p. 67.

<sup>e</sup> Ranis p. 274.

<sup>e</sup> vide & Æsch.

<sup>e</sup> in Persis.

<sup>f</sup> Aristop. Pl.

<sup>g</sup> p. 88. f.

<sup>g</sup> Thoph. Ch.

<sup>g</sup> p. 49.

<sup>h</sup> Antigonem.

<sup>i</sup> Charact.

<sup>l</sup> Gen. 28.18.

<sup>a</sup> In Phor. Ac.

<sup>a</sup> Sc. 4.

<sup>b</sup> γαλῆ.

<sup>Theoph.</sup>

him. Adde the avoiding of obsequies for fear of polluting Antiquity was of opinion that sacred persons were defiled with the sight of the dead, as *Chemnitius* hath observed, and *c Euripides* brings in *Diana* speaking that it is not lawfull for her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay the standing upon a grave was great religion; *σπένδωμι μνήματα*. Furthermore observing of daies good and bad, of which *d Hesiod*, ἀλλ' ἢ ἀντρυγὰ, ὅλ' ἢ ζυγί-  
της, that one is a stepdame another a mother. *e* A amazement at the Eclipse of the Sunne, as also the *f* Moone; not knowing the reason, why she did loose her light, at that time, when she was in her full lustre. Buying of Medicines or enchanted stones for the quicker delivery in child-birth, in *Aristo- phanes*. ὠκυτόκει ὠνησάμεθα. Of the vertue I speak nought. *g* *Boemus* relates that in *Darien* in *America* the women eat an hearb when they are great with child which makes them to bring forth without pain. Ioine to this the sneezing over the right shoulder or the right side, *h* παρὰ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ. Obser-  
vation of *Διόταιρας*, or sudden stormes, as the *i* *Sch.* of *Aristo- phanes* interprets it, snow, haile, or the like. *k* Cutting off their haire, and sacrificing it to rivers, as *Cephissus*. Marking the flight of the owle, whence came the Proverb, *l* γλαῦξ δι-  
έπατο, *The Owle hath fled*. And *γλαῦξ ἱππατω* for good luck. The Owle being a token of victory to the *Athenians*. *m* ἡ πᾶ-  
σις τῆς γλαυκῆς νίκης σύμβολον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐποιεῖτο. They ever accounting it so, since the warre at *Salamis*, where the *Greeks* seeing an Owle, took courage and beat the *Barbari- ans*. *Appendix Vaticana*. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ ταῦτης διεδήσεως θαρρή-  
σαντες Ἕλληες ἐνίκησαν. Other madnesse of theirs was slee-  
ping in the *n* Temple of *Æsculapius*, who were ill at ease, supposing the deity to give, or shew them a remedy, *o* for which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock. If I mistake not. What shall I say of *p* putting him to death who should cut down an Oake or an Holme (so *Ilex* which in Greek is *πευδίσκος* may be taken, I think it an Holme) in the *Heron*, And punishing *Atarbes* capitally who being distra-  
cted

*c* In *Hip.* p.  
603. vide etiam  
*Eustarb.* in

*Il.* π.

*d* ἐν ἑρμῇ καὶ  
ἡμ.

*e* *Plut.* *Pericle*  
p. 123. l. 35.

*f* *Plut.* *Nicia*.  
p. 392. l. 21.

*g* *Lib.* 4. c. 11.

*h* *Plut.* *Them*  
p. 85. l. 23.

*i* In *Ach.* p. 379.  
& p. 424.

*k* *Paul.* *Att.* p.  
35. l. 31. vide  
*Eust.* in *Il.* B.

*l* *Aristop.* *Ve-*  
*spif.* p. 508.

*m* *Zenobius*,

*n* *Aristop.* pp.  
44 66. T. 438.

*o* *Petronius*.

*p* *Ælian*.

τοῖς κ.

l. 5. c. 17.



sted had slain a sparrow sacred to *Æsculapius*? Thus farre have we gone. Let us proceed to their vaticinations or prophesyings. *Æschylus* brings *Promethæus* on the stage, vaunting how first he taught men \* *Ονειρομαντὸς Οἰωνιστὸν Ἡπαν-*

*κός· Ουτικόν.* All which were practised among the *Athenians*, as you may read in *Xenophon*. *Ονειρομαντὸς*, the interpretation of dreams, is a resolution of those doubts which we conceive

of things offered to our fancie in sleep, as that of *Hecuba*, dreaming that she should bring forth a firebrand; and that of *Atossa* before the fall of her sonne *Xerxes*, whom she saw striving to yoke the *Barbarian* and *Greek* woman, one of which overthrew him. This the ancients termed *ἐνυπνιον*

*ἰδῆν*. *Æschylus*, ascribing much to the truth of them, supposing them to be sent from a Deitie—*καὶ δ' ἄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ὄσιν.*

*b Homer*. The skill in them is *ἐξ ὀνειράτων α' χρεὶ παρ ἑσέων*, 33.

*καθηδὺς τε δυσκρίτους (γινώσκοντες)* to truly tell the event. Which was no small art: certaine Books are written of that Subject.

*α' καὶ εἰσὶν ἐγγραφοὶ πρὸς τέχνην ὀνειρομαντικὴν* as *Artemidorus* his *Onirocritica*. *Οἰωνιστὸν*, Soothsaying by Birds, when such or such flie either before or behind him, at the right or left hand, to shew what it doth Prognosticate. *c Æschylus*. *Γαμφα-*

*τύχων τε πῆστιν οἰωνῶν σκαδρῶς Διόεισ' οἱ τινὲς δ' ὀξιοὶ οὔτιν, Εὐώε τυχαί τε, καὶ δίαταν λώτινα Εχέτ' ἔνασι, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τινὲς Εχέδρα τε καὶ σέγγηδρα καὶ Σωεδείη.* It was formerly stiled *σοῖ-*

*ογιστική*, *αὐτὴ ἐκ διανοίας ποιεῖ ζομιμῶν ἀνθρωπίνῃ δόξῃ σκεψίαν*) which the mind doth suggest to the opinion. It is put for any divination in Greek Writers, but most properly *δενδοσκοπία*

*πικόν*, which *g Telegæus* is related to have found according to *Nonnus*, but according to *b Plinie*, *Car*, whence it is called

*Caria*. *Ηπαπικόν*, looking into the Liver or entrals, like the *Latines extispicium*, observing the colour of them, *καὶ οὗτ' ἐπὶ*

*πικρίλλω ἐνυπνιόεντι*; as likewise the soundnesse, hence taken as a prodigie *καὶ ὁσος ἐκ ἔχων καὶ ὁσος*, in *k Plutarch*, the extremitie of the liver (like the outmost parts of the Vine lease, saies *Ist-*

*dore*) not to be seen, or rather that which they call the head,

\* Vide Sch.

pag. 32.

a *Απμ. η. α.* initio.

b *Il. ad. 1.*

c *Æschy. Pro. p.*

33.

d *Eust. in Il. a*

p. 36.

e *Pag. 33.*

f *Aristides. T.*

3. p. 25.

g *Nonnus*

*Σιωαγ. 15.*

a 02.

b *Nat. hist. 1. 7.*

c 56.

i *Æsch. loco*

citato.

k *Pag. 357.*

l 31.

l Æsch. loco.  
cirato.

a In Au.p. 574.

b In Oed. Tyr.  
initio.

c Ovid. Fast.

d Sch. Aristop.  
loco citato.

Nonnus in  
Naz.

f Nonnus.

g In Vesp. pag.  
503.

h lb. p. 502.

*Ovid, casumque caput reperitur in extis.* Ουπκός, in marking the flame of the Sacrifice burnt, *ἰφλογοπᾶ σπυατα*, the Tragædian calls them, by which they could foretell events. More doubtless had they ways of Witchcraft, as the other Greeks. *Ενόςδον*, as when one shall meet you carrying such or such things, then this shall befall you, *Æschylus* terms them *ἐνόςδεις συμβόλαις*, *Sch.* πρὸ ἐξ ὅπαντῆσας. See *Scaliger* in *Tibullum*, on these words, *Puer è triviis*. The Scholiast of a *Aristophanes* on *ἐνυμ-βολον ὄρνιν*, They made, quoth he, whom they met first, as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the Salutation, which b *Sophocles* calls *ἐνρήμας σπυα φερωντῆδ*, wishing luck, as *χαῖρε* among the Greeks, and the Latines c *Esto bonis avibus visus*, &c. *Συμβολον* is put likewise for sneezing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans, but sacred to d *Ceres*, as the Greeks, whence proceeded that *Ζήσεις*, which we imitate in our *God help you*, as often as we see any Man purging his head. Which not to have proceeded from any deadly Disease, is sufficiently evinced by *Casaubon* on *Athenæus*. *Οικοσκοπήκον*, at the sight of a Mouse, Serpent, Cat, or the like in the House, or when the Oyl cruse is dry, Honey, Wine, Water is spent, to guess at future things. Of this e *Xenocrates* wrote. *Χειροσκοπηκόν*, Palmistry, when by the length of the Hand, or lines of the Table, they can judge of freeness in House-keeping, of Marriage and Posterity, of which f *Helenus* once left a Monument. *Πάμμισηκόν*, gathered out of the shaking of the parts of the Body, as the shoulder, thigh, or right eye, in which kinde *Posidonius* was an Author exposed to the World. *Εγγραστυμνισ*, as that wherein the Witch of *Endor* was experienced, out of the lowest parts of whose Belly the Devil spake. The first that practiced this among the *Athenians* was *Eurycles*, hence they who are possessed with this Spirit of Prophecy are called *Ευρυκλεῖς*, *Euryclite*, as the g *Schol.* of *Aristoph.* who calls this Art h *Ευρυκλέως μαρτεία*, the Divining of *Eurycles*. *Νεκρομαντεία*, where after solemn Sacrifices they were wont to call up the souls

souls of the deceased, demanding of them what afterward should befall. As <sup>i</sup> *Wierus*. And no wonder, for they held the Spirits of their parents and kindred for Gods, *quibus sacrificabant* (says *Bodin*) & *ad quorum sepulchra comedebant*, in quos scriptura invehens ac detestans, inquit, & comedebant sacrificia mortuorum, to which they sacrificed, and at whose sepulchres they fed, against whom the Scripture inveighing and detesting, speaketh, *And they ate the oblations of the dead*. Of this <sup>l</sup> *Aristophanes* makes mention, and <sup>m</sup> *Homer* in his *Odysses*. This is that which most properly is called *γοντεία* from *γονε* lamentation, by *Wierus* termed *diræ execrationes*, <sup>a</sup> for with great mourning they invoked *κακοίς δαίμονας*, wicked Gods for the accomplishment of their divelish designs. It may most fitly have the name of *Nigra Magia*, <sup>b</sup> for so the *Wizards* divide them into the black and white Magick. *Μαγία*, from whence the word Magick is derived, seemes to have been found by the *Medes* and *Persians*, whose Priests were called *Magi*, great Philosophers, as <sup>d</sup> *Laertius* is witness. This is supposed to be the good Magick. <sup>e</sup> *Ἐπικλησις ἐστὶ δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν, ὡς ἀγαθὴν οὐσασιν φαρμακεία*, is a giving of *Philtrum*, a Medicine for the procurement of Love, or rather enraging of Lust, by bewitching something and giving it to be eaten, which to have power over Swine is credibly reported. *Κοσκινομαντεία*, Tricks with a pair of Sheers and Sive, of which *Theocritus*. <sup>f</sup> *Ἀξινεμαντεία*. To take counsel of an Hatcher, taking it and laying it on a piece of Timber flat-ways, which did the feat by turning round. Like to which is that naughty use of a Key and Bible. *Ἀσπαραγενομαντεία*, by the casting of the Dice to ask the number of Wives, Children, Farms, &c. which answer to the quantity of the chance. *Γαλφιπομαντεία* & *Ἀλευρομαντεία*, done by Corn, <sup>h</sup> *Ἀειθρομαντεία*, by taking the Letters of the name, as when two were to fight, and by value of them to judge the conquest, As they said of *Hectors* being overcome by *Achilles*, *Ὀρυσιδεμαντεία*, making a circle, they divided it into four & twenty parts, <sup>g</sup> and

<sup>i</sup> De Mag's  
Inf. l. 2. c. 11.  
<sup>k</sup> Dæmonoma-  
nia. l. 2. c. 3.

<sup>l</sup> In Avib.  
p. 613. a.  
<sup>m</sup> Lib. 2.  
<sup>a</sup> Nonn. in  
Naz.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Bodin.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Non.  
<sup>d</sup> In Proœm.  
<sup>e</sup> Nonnus.

<sup>f</sup> Vide Odyf.

<sup>g</sup> Vide Theo-  
crit. in Phar.  
<sup>h</sup> Delrio Dis-  
qui. Mag. l. 4.  
c. 2. q. 5. sec. 7.



and on each part made a letter, and putting wheat upon the letters they brought in a Cock, and observing from what letters he took up the grain, they at last joyned them together, and so knew their successors, husbands, &c. Στραγγέλλων, opening a book of *Homer* and by the first verse that they lighted upon to divine, as that of the death of *Socrates*, who so foretold it, meeting with that verse of *Homer*, which speaks of the arrival of *Achilles* within three daies at *Theſſaly*. *i Et quoniam poemata pro vaticiniis, &c.* and because poems were accounted Prophecies, as Poets prophets, they were most busie in them. Hence in publique causes had the Romans recourse to the *Sibylline Oracles*, & the private Grecians to the verses of *Homer*. And that *Sors* was put for the writing of Oracles, is manifest out of the words *Sortes Delphicæ*, for foretelling or divination. <sup>a</sup> I know the the Priest of *Apollo* being inspired with a kind of holy fury spake to those who asked counsel. Whence the word <sup>b</sup> μανικη at this time read for Soothsaying, was anciently called μανικη madness. And yet that their cunning men had a kind of lottery, is as clear as day, the <sup>c</sup> Scholiast of *Euripides* testifying; done it seems in matters of question, so καὶ ἔργον δὲ χεῖρας may intimate <sup>d</sup> as much as to undergoe trial. Predictions there were, <sup>d</sup> saith *Eustath*, out of signes and wonders, as also of the noise that leaves makes when they are burned. To which some adde εἰρηματικα or divination by the ayre, quoting for it *Aristophanes* in *Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

<sup>i</sup> Wier. de Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 13.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Sch. Arist. in Plut. <sup>b</sup> Aristid. T. 3. pag. 25.

<sup>c</sup> In Hippol. p. 580.

<sup>d</sup> In Il. a. p. 36.

## C A P. V I I.

### De Templis & Asyis.

**T**Heir Churches were of two sorts; sacred to their Gods in Greek, *θεῖος*, or *ιερά*. And sacred to their Demi-gods most properly *συνεῖ*. But the word is promiscuously used by the Tragedians. *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the first

first Original of their Temples was the erecting of an Edifice to the honour of the deceased. *ε νεως μη ευφημως ονομαζομενες, τας ος ο ανθρωπος, τω τω τω νεως επεκλημενες.* *Cecrops* <sup>e</sup> Vide. p. 12. buried in the *Acropolis*, *Erichonius* in the Temple of *Minerva*, *Polias*, the daughters of *Celeus* in *Elenfis*, &c. They were divided into two parts, the sacred and prophane, this called *εζω περιρραντων*, the other *εσω*. <sup>f</sup> *Casaubon* tells us that *περιρραντων* <sup>f</sup> In Theop. Charact. was that holy water set at the dore of the Temple, with which every one that entered into the Temple besprinkled himselfe, or was besprinkled by those that sacrificed; of which in the next Chapter. But others have written that it stood at the entrance of the *Adytum*, into which it was not lawful for any but the Priests to come. The <sup>g</sup> Schol. of *Sophocles* thus describes the Church. *Ναος*, quoth he, is the place where the Altar stands. *Βωμους*, the Altar on which they offered their oblations, *Τειδυ*, where they placed the Idol which they worshipped; in ancient time a rude Table or Stock, <sup>a</sup> *στανις* <sup>a</sup> In Oed. Tyrannum. *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls it, as that of *Juno Samia*, afterward made in the magistracie of *Procles* to be a statue. At first named, <sup>b</sup> *ξανα*, *δια το απξειδαι τ υλης*, from the shaving of it; <sup>b</sup> *Idem*. but when art began to be so expert as to make it resemble a man, they termed it *βρετας*, from *βροτος mortalis*, whose shape it bare. At the setting up thereof they used these Ceremonies: That a Woman neatly trimmed and deckt in purple vesture, should bring on her head a pot of sodden pulse, as beanes, pease, and the like, which they sacrificed in thankfulness for their first food, *ε ευχαισιηια στανιμοντες τ πρωτης διατης*. For <sup>c</sup> *Schol. Arist.* as much as I conceive out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where <sup>c</sup> p. 115. this was consecrated, or did divine honours, but in the *ιερω* or *ναος*, the body of the Church, framing, as may be gathered, their gesture towards it. *αυται ος ε τεραπιδουβι, αλγατα, ξο- d* <sup>d</sup> Lib. I. c. I. *ωα, ειν τεων*, &c. Furthermore belonging to their Temples <sup>d</sup> *τμ. γ.* there was a kind of Vestry, in Greek *αρχειον* by some translated *summum templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This seems to have been a Treasurie both for the Church, and any

e Laertius in  
vita. p. 122.  
vide ad eum lo-  
cum Cal.

any soever, who fearing the security of his wealth, would commit it to the custody of the Priest, as <sup>e</sup> *Xenophon* is reported to have done at the Temple of *Diana* in *Ephesus*. *Marialis* points at this, when he says,

*Templa vel arcano demens spoliaverat auro.*

So reverently did they esteem of these Houses of their Gods, that to do those offices of Nature, I mean, venting of Excrements too shamelessly seen among us, in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination, punished severely by *Pisistratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the *Attick* Ground had brought forth, they so hated him for that Taxation, as they made the *apoteasa* of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes; which although forbidden never was redressed. And yet so secretly was it done, that he could apprehend none, save at last one Stranger, whom he caused to be whipt, with this Proclamation, THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE EDICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence, to a man that soundly smarted for his wickedness, they were wont proverbially to say, *He had better have eased himself in the Pythium*; or if there were more, in the plural number. *Κρίνον ἢν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν Πυθίαν ἀποπαῖσαι*. Nay so honorable held they these Churches, that to them they granted privilege of Sanctuary, to which who should fly, might not from thence be drawn out under a Trespass upon Religion. Of this kinde was the Temple of *Minerva* and *Theseus*, the Altars of the *Eumenides* and *Mercy*, a whose Image they would not have erected any where in their City, although in the midst thereof she had a Grove. <sup>b</sup> The first *Asylum* among the Heathens is held to have been in *Athens*, built by the *Heracleide*.

a Vid. Rosin.  
b Polyd. Virg.  
in Eurip. they  
are presented sitting near the  
Altar. T. 2. p.  
472.



## C A P. VIII.

## De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy Orders among them I conceive to have been of divers sores. Παράσιτοι, *Parasiti*, a word had in latter times in great derision, exagitated almost in every Comœdy, put for a shark or smell-feast, c *Edax Parasitus*. But held once in good esteem. For when they had set apart such a parcel of Land as they thought the Revenues thereof would suffice for the Sacrifices of such and such Gods, they chose certain Men who should receive or gather the Harvest. *Crates*, οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ σιτεῖν λογισμὸν αἰρούμενοι. With the incomes of this were the charges of those publick Sacrifices defrayed. Hence *προσόδων μεγάλη introitus magni*, great yearly Substance, is used for great Sacrifice in c *Aristophanes*. Scholiast. ἔπεα δὲ ἔλεγον τὰς προσερχομένης τοῖς θεοῖς θυξίας κήρυκες. *Ceryces*, the same signifies a Crier, but in sacred Functions a Minister, who slew and offered the *Victim*. f *Anthenio* the Comœdian ascribes much honor to them, as if they had first taught men to seeth Victuals, the flesh of Sheep and Oxen, while before they devoured each other raw. They take their name from g *Ceryx* the son of *Mercury* and *Pandrosus*. But h *Cassaubon*. *ἔπεα δὲ ἔλεγον τὰς προσερχομένης τοῖς θεοῖς θυξίας κήρυκες*. *A prestantiore parte numeris quod obibant, sic dicti: Idem namque & hostias mactabant, adolebantque, &c.* They in the time of Divine Rites, craved the silence of the People in these Words, εὐφημίτε. Σιγὰ πάντες ἔστω λεῶς. Be whist all yee People. Good words, for so i εὐφημίτε, signifies, as well as to say nought, which *Horace* fitly interprets, when he says, *Male ominatis Purcite verbis*. When sacrifice was ended, they dismissed the Congregation with these Words, λαὸν ἀφεςσε. To which Custom he unfitly looked who derived the Mass from *Miss* a est, ire, better setcht in my minde by a *Wechelins* from *Masath* the Hebrew, which avails as much as to praise. *Musa γὰρ ἱ*, the same

c Terent.

d Secun. Att.

Dialecti. apud

Athen. p. 235.

e Avib. p. 581.

f Apud. Ath.

l. 14. p. 661.

g Vide Salm.

in Inscripti.

Pollucem. l. 8.

h In Athen. lib.

15. c. 23.

Causab. in

Theophrast.

p. 321.

a In lib. quem

scripsit de Sa-

crament.

<sup>b</sup> Meursius E-leusin, in. c. 13.

<sup>c</sup> In Stel. 1. p. 63.

<sup>d</sup> L Mountac. of Chichester.

<sup>e</sup> In Alexaph. p. 144.

<sup>f</sup> Aristop. Sc. p. 125.

<sup>g</sup> T. 2. p. 621.

<sup>b</sup> In Politic.

<sup>i</sup> In Plut. p. 71.  
<sup>k</sup> Casaub. in Theoph.

<sup>l</sup> Arist. p. 481.  
<sup>m</sup> Arist. p. 101.

<sup>n</sup> In Plut. p. 71.

same with <sup>b</sup> *Isegriv*, who initiated them who desired to be admitted into the society of the superstitiously zealous (who after they were entered, were not under a year compleat, permitted to see their Bable) <sup>c</sup> *Schol. Naz.* *Isegriv* ἱεργὸν τὸ τὰ ἱεργὰ ἐκποιεῖν. *Hierophanta* so called from ἐκποιεῖν τὰ ἱερά, opening the holy things. *Eid' i* ἰδοὶ *Isegriv*. <sup>d</sup> The Learned Bishop, upon the place of *Nazianzen*, notes that *Moses* among the *Israelites* was an *Hierophanta*, shewing unto them what they were to doe in those sacred businesses. *Πυροφόροι*, they who lighted the fire of the Altar, whose office made them safe in warre and danger. Hence of bloody fight we say ἐν πυροφόρῳ, *Ne ignifer quidem*, there escaped not he that served at the Altar. *ἱεροποιοί*, The Priests in the *Great Mysteries*, tenne in number. *Νεωκόροι* whom <sup>e</sup> *Nicander* calls *ζῆκοροι* from *φρονεῖν* πρὸς καλὴν ὀπίστην, to be decent, because they kept the Temples clean, and swept them as, *Ion* in <sup>g</sup> *Euripides* speaks. These were the *κασιγῆται*, whose charge it was to preserve that which was found in the Church, and to see that repaired which went to ruine, saies <sup>b</sup> *Aristotle*. And yet we read that the *Parasiti* did sometime look to the mending of it. There being a law enacted that what they laid out should be restored again. *ἱερεῖς* in <sup>i</sup> *Aristophanes*, likewise termed *πρεσβυτοί*. These are the Priests ever waiting on the Gods, <sup>k</sup> whose prayers the ancient required at their sacrifices; out of which they had a fee, <sup>l</sup> the trotters and skinnies, as the <sup>m</sup> *Ceryces* the tongues. And indeed there was no necessity, for there being Tables in their Temples, as *Casaubon* teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations, (and perhaps sometimes depart) of which the Priest according to his stomach did share. Well known to <sup>n</sup> *Aristoph.* who relates the like of the Priest of *Asculapius*. It was requisite to this function that they who undertook it should be found both wind and limb, they being asked *ἐν ἀφελείῃ* before their creation, whether they were whole in every member: which Ceremonie to have been used among holy orders of latter daies is well known, their neighbours,

neighbours wives bearing record, saies <sup>a</sup> *Christianus*, that<sup>a</sup> In Aristoph. they have not taken into their societies *quid inutilem*. There were moreover shee Priests as the βασιλῆες, in Demosthenes, & the κερνέρες whom in all things <sup>b</sup> *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* <sup>c</sup> *Antiq. l.2.n.3.* compared to the vestall Nunnes.

C A P. IX.

De Sacrificiis.

THE Father of Philosophie is of opinion that Sacrifices first began after the ancients had ended their harvest. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth and jollitie. In which they offered their first fruits called ἀπαρχαί, from whence ἀπαρχή is read generally to doe any sacrifice. Neither doth ἀρχή import lesse. For ἐδὲ signifies the bend, or great chest of the garner, wherein they laid up the harvest threshed and winnowed; ἀρχή, the first or beginning, as if when they began to treasure up their store, the first of all liberally paid some devotion to their Gods. The Attick oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing else but the earths beneficence, but before *Solons* age, burnt offering; who willed in his lawes, that they should be ἐκλεκτά τελέα, chosen and selected sacrifices. The rights performed in them were not different from those in the daies of *Homer*, but somewhat reformed. It behoved them that would take in hand these holy things to purifie themselves some certaine daies before, <sup>c</sup> ἀποσινησθῶν, <sup>d</sup> *Plur. p.65.1.* the number of them is not set down. I take <sup>e</sup> ἀποσινησθῶν here to abstain from carnall delights, *Tibull. Discede ab aris Quos tulit hesternæ gaudia nocte Venus* To which purpose *Theano* being asked when it might be lawfull for a woman, from the company of a man to go to sacrifice answered, from her own at any time, but a stranger never. Being thus prepared they came and stood round the Altar, having with them a basket in which was the knife hid (covered

<sup>a</sup> Vide Schol. Eur. in Phæn. p. 221.

<sup>d</sup> *Plur. p.65.1.* <sup>e</sup> they called their lean sacrifices κῆρα καὶ ὄρεον.

<sup>c</sup> ἀποσινησθῶν hornes and haire, as if naught else, *Arist. p.584.* <sup>e</sup> *Demosth. pp. 400.476.*



f In pace. p.  
695.

g 1a. a. with  
these ελοχύτας  
the Greeks ever  
began sacrifice,  
the Romans Far,  
Dionys. Halic.  
l. 2. n. 4.

h Loco laud.  
i Athen. l. 9. p.  
p. 409.

a Sophocles  
Oed Tyr.  
b Aristoph. p.  
c Ιλιάδ. α.

d Ιλιάδ. α.

\* Μυσία.

e In Stel.  
f Eustath. p.  
101. 1a.

g Loco laud.

with flower and salt in f *Aristophanes* ὀλῶ, in g *Homer* ελοχύ) with which they cut the throat of the *victim*. Then they purified the Altar going about it with the right hand towards it. h *Aristophanes*. Περιδιτὴ βωμὸν ταχέως ἐπὶ δ' ἐξίῃ. This lustration was made with meal and holy water sprinkled thereon. This water is called i *χέρνις* in which they quenched a fire brand taken from the Altar; with which they bedewed the standers by, accounting it a kind of cleansing. (Hence a *χέρνιβας νέμειν* was forbidden him whom they took for a polluted and forlorn rogue.) Then they cast some of the flower on them. And having thus expiated, they cryed out b *Τίς τῆς;* Who is here, to which they made reply, Πολλοὶ καγαθοί. Many and good. Then they prayed. c *Homer*. Εξήης ἔστησαν ἐὺδωπον πρὸ βωμὸν. Χερνίψαντο δ' ἔπειτα, καὶ ελοχύτας ἀνέλοντο, τοῖσιν δ' Χοῦσις μεγάλη δ' ἔχτο χεῖρας ἀνασχών. Among the latter they spake with a loud voice εὐχόμεθα, before they began. Let us pray. Supplications ended they drew the victim so as (if it were to the Gods above) the head might looke upwards, which d *Homer*. αὐ' ἐρύειν. Eust. α' μὲν τοῖς ἀνὰ ἔδου, ἀναλλὰς δ' τῷ ἱερεὶ πρὸ ἄλλων, ὥστε ἀπορῆν, ὡς εἰς τὸ ἔργον. If it were to the Heroes or Demi-gods, with his throat downwards. Then they slew him and skinned him, & cutting out the \* buck shins, bones and hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called κνίσση (hence the God of the heathen are deciphered by e *Nazianzen*, κνίσση χαίροντες, rejoycing in the fat) to the end that they might burn all out in a great flame. f *ὡς δ' ὁ σπονδὴν ὀλοκαυτὸν ἴδωσι καὶ μὲν λαμπερὸν κατὰ πλεονεχθέντες πῦρ.* For the Grecians accounted so unluckie if it did not so consume, and thought that it was not κληρώματα upon the μὲν they cast small peeces of flesh cut from every part of the Beast, beginning with the shoullder (which is in Greek ὤμῳ) hence this is called ὀμοθυτεῖν. The reason *Eustathius* gives, g *ὡς δὲ καὶ τῷ πρὸ πηγῶν, ὅλα ἔτω τὰ μέρη τῷ ἱερεὶ καρπύδω,* that they might seem to consume all, which the Athenians did not, being commanded by law to carry some of the sacrifice home. By reason

reason of which injunction, they did so strain curtesy of their Gods, that the illiberall or niggardly sort of people would sell that which was left, and so make gaine of their devotion. <sup>h rē</sup> <sup>b Th. Charac.</sup> <sup>μὲν ἱερὰς πλὴν ἧς ἱερὰν τὰ κρεῖα ἀποδιδόσθαι</sup> saies *Theophrastus*. <sup>οὐδ' ἀρελδδῖ-</sup> Where *Causabon* notes, *Coxam* ferè *offerebant*, *aut intestina*, <sup>ρίζ.</sup> *aut aliud non magni rei persape*. They offered the hanch bone; <sup>i Pag. 336.</sup> or the entrals, or somewhat of no great worth. Where by entrals you are to understand the spleene, the liver, and the heart, which *Homer* calls *πλάγχνα*, for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it signifies the heart too, in which sense we say *ἄπλαγχνός* ἀνὴρ, a pusillanimous man, & *ὑππλάγχνός* a courageous as the *Scholias*t of *Sophocles* teaches us, & <sup>a In Ajacem Lorarium.</sup> so *πλάγχνα* ἐλέες the bowels of compassion. These the ancients did divide among them at sacrifice to feed on, and afterwards cut out the rest to roast. For when they had finished their devotions, they let the reines loose to all manner of voluptuousnesse, gluttony, and drunkennesse. For oft times they left nothing of their sacrifice, especially when they offered to *Vesta*, whence the proverb, *Εἰς θύειν*, is to eat up all, like the Roman *Lari sacrificare*. To say that publicly they begun to *Vesta* were more then I could well prove; but that they did so is plaine. In their houses they had Altars, and so I supposed once *Ἀρῆς* εἰς ἀρχαῖς to be taken, but this was done in *Libaminibus*, in their drink offerings, as he on <sup>b</sup> *Aristophanes*. As <sup>b</sup> Vide p. 582. for their meat offerings it was required that they should be sound and without blemish, whether it were an oxe, sheep, <sup>c</sup> vide Pollucem goat, swine, calfe: to sacrifice they simply termed *εἰς θύειν* which <sup>l. i.</sup> our Latines have interpreted fitly, *Facere*. <sup>d</sup> Virgil, *cum faciam vitula*. Whose poverty was so great that he could not afford a sheep, or the like, they thought the Gods would be well pleased if he offered *Molas*, which the Greekes call <sup>e</sup> *θύλή* - <sup>e</sup> *Causab. in uata meale*, which by the richer was mingled with oyle and <sup>Theop. p. 237.</sup> wine, as the *Scholias*t of *Aristoph.* The more wealthy in- <sup>f</sup> Pag. 701. stituted of this did cast frankincense on the Altars. For the sacrifices of *Pallas* the tithes were set apart, as <sup>g</sup> *Demosthenes*. In <sup>g</sup> Pag. 378. their

b Schol. Arist.  
p. 304.

their oblations the μάγειροι or cookes gave the 10 part to the Prytanes. So ἀδικατῶτα κοιλία, put for ἐπία where the Gods cannot have their allowance. Schol. Aristop. on ἀδικατῶτες ἢ θεῶν ἰερείς ἔχοντα κοιλίας. Ἐδοξεν δὲ ἔχειν πᾶς δεκάτης ἢ θυοῦ δέων πᾶς Πρυτάνεσσι τοῖς μάγειροι δίδοναι. δῖον δὲ ἐκπῆν ἀδικατῶτον ἔχοντα ὑσίαν, &c.

## CAP. X.

## De Anno Attico.

a De Doct.  
Temp. l. i. c. i.

\* Negar Peti-  
tus Miscel. l. 8.  
p. 192. Petav.  
affirmat  
b M. Selden.  
in Appar. ad  
Græco Epoch  
Chro.  
\* id est, The  
fifteenth day  
c De D. Tem.  
T. i. p. 4.

THE ancient Greek year consisted of three hundred & sixtie daies, each moneth consisting of thirtie. Rude antiquity ignorant of celestiaall contemplations, deeming the Moone to finish her course in that space. Which according to a Petavius seemes false. *Lunaris enim non fuit, sed ejus menses tricenis diebus constabant singuli.* By which reckoning, had they not used intercalations, they had soone found a maine difference in the times, when they ought to have celebrated their festivals. They made therefore a *Tetraeteris*, in which when they found seaven daies deficient, they supplied them by adding \* 2 to every end of the year, called ἀναρχοὶ ἡμέραι, b *eo quod per illud biduum Athenæ Magistratibus carebant*, Because for those two dayes Athens was without Magistrates. But the last of these four had but 359 daies, besides the two ὑπερέδδωπον, in respect of the Olympick games, ever kept in the Olympick games, ever kept in the \* full moone, which could not have happened, had they not began the *Tetraeteris* with a new Moone. Neverthelesse the Sunne and Moone appearing 14 daies oddes in a *Tetraeteris*, they made every eighth year an interjection of one Moneth, that this time being ended, the course might still returne the same. This all Greece observed, saies Petavius, by the Athenians termed *μυσήεια*, by the people of Etis an *Olympiad*. What kind of Lunary year was in use among the Grandfires of Greece, is not



not truly known; by *d Petitus* delivered to be of D: 347. eve-<sup>d Eclog. chr.</sup>  
 ry Month 29 D: except one, which like our February had but <sup>p. 225. Petav.</sup>  
 28 D: Every two years one Moneth was inserted: once of <sup>goes not so</sup>  
 29 D: another time of 28 D: But because in two years this <sup>home. Lib. de</sup>  
 \* *magnus annus* surpassed the Moon 15 D: it *aque Tetractida* <sup>doct. Temp.</sup>  
*fecerunt*. This consisted of 1445 D: 723. & 722 make 1445. So <sup>1.c.6.</sup>  
 many daies 354. foure times doubled hath, if you please to <sup>\* each of these</sup>  
 adjoyne 29. Of this sort of calculation doth he understaud <sup>two yeares se-</sup>  
*f Geminus*. Τὰς μὲν τετρακονθήμερος ἦεν, καὶ ἡ ἐμβολίμους παρ-  
 ἐναιον. That must be fitly understood, quoth he, for they did <sup>verally taken</sup>  
 number the moneths as if they were 30 D: when notwithstanding <sup>was called ver-</sup>  
 they had but 29. *g Petavius* is otherwise conceited, who <sup>tens, joyned</sup>  
 takes the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* in that sense, as meaning <sup>annus mag-</sup>  
 29 D: full ones, when indeed exactly taken according to <sup>nus.</sup>  
*h Geminus* you may accout 29. <sup>e Loco laud.</sup>  
 and <sup>f Elem. Astro.</sup>  
*i Ulpian*, <sup>c.8. p.36.</sup>  
<sup>g In Auctario</sup>  
<sup>h Loco citato</sup>  
<sup>i In Arg O-</sup>  
<sup>rat, contra</sup>  
<sup>Aud. p.380.</sup>  
<sup>k In Arati Di-</sup>  
<sup>osem. p.74.</sup>  
 Bnt that the fragments were left out, the words are plaine,  
 Επὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἡμέρας αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ ἡμέρας  
 χρόνον. τὴν δὲ μὲν ἐχρῶντο οὐδὲν, τὴν δὲ πολιτικῶν ἡμερῶν  
 διαγωγῇ καὶ οὖν ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἢ ἑλλείαν. He meanes a day  
 the space of a night and a day, for according to such Moneths  
 did they administer their civil affaires. And now it is in re-  
 quest am. ng many of the Greekes. But of this enough. Soone  
 was the *Tetractis* found faulty; therefore was made a Ka-  
 lender of eight years, in which doubling eight times the dif-  
 ference of the Sunne, to wit, 11 D: made up three Months,  
 inserted every third, fift, and eighth year. But the scruples  
 comming short in sixteen years 3 D: they intercalated  
 three. And seeing still they could not make it even. <sup>a Eucte-</sup>  
*mon* and *Philippus* made an Almanack for nineteen years,  
 which by *Callippus* was produced to 76. Moneths 640. of  
 them 28. ἐμβολίμοι, ἢ ἡ πᾶσι τῶν ἐμβολίων ὁμοίως ἐχρήσαντο,  
 saies *Geminus*. This was the progresse of their reformation.

<sup>b</sup> Then were  
all the months  
of 30 D. as yet  
may see in Schol.  
Aristop. Achar.  
P. 412. c.

<sup>c</sup> Gem. p. 32.  
<sup>d</sup> Laertius in  
vita.  
<sup>e</sup> Pollux l. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Petit. Eccl.  
Chro. p. 215.

<sup>a</sup> In Διοσμου.  
p. 78.  
<sup>b</sup> In Antigon.  
p. 213.  
<sup>c</sup> In Aratum  
p. 78.  
<sup>d</sup> In Oedipo  
Tyran. p. 183.  
<sup>e</sup> In vita pag.  
66. l. 15.  
<sup>f</sup> Plutarch.

<sup>g</sup> Laert. in vit.

But we must look back againe and consider that they counted their yeare two waies. First of <sup>b</sup>CCCLX, as hath been already spoken, next CCCLIII, when they made the Moneths interchangeably πλήρεις ἡ κοίλοις, full and deficient, that is, one 29, the other 30 daies, yet both Lunary. For that is proved even by the names of their daies. The first, wherein the Moon appeared new, called by a *Synalepha* or contraction of the words νημελυσία. The second δαυτέρη. The eighth διχομηνία, or halfe full: the full παρσέλιος. The last τεταχθής, <sup>c</sup>απ' αὐτῆς τῆ συμβαίοντος, because that in the daies of *Thales Milesius*, <sup>d</sup> who was the author of that terme, the Moneth had 30, and no more, but ended, whence I suppose <sup>e</sup>αἱ ἐν αὐτῇ τεταχθής, signifie the dead, the period of whose life hath been come to. Though *Diogenian* gives other reasons. And by the way we must not think, that they had no regard to the course of the Sunne; <sup>f</sup>sed tamen ut annus fieret Solaris, &c. But nevertheless that the yeare might be correspondent to the Sun, they put five daies, called <sup>g</sup>επαισόμενοι epacted, to the last Month *Scirophorion*, for the supplying of the defect. And so the year had 365 D. which was the true and just measure. But he might have added sometimes 366, by reason of that <sup>1</sup> which *Geminus* acknowledges the Greekes to have reckoned, although they accounted their Moneths but 30 D. This is that *annus implicitus*, which <sup>2</sup>*Aratus* stiles μέσας ἐπισώτις. To this point the Greeke Authors, telling the yeares by seed time. <sup>b</sup>*Sophocles* — Εἰλομέντων Ἀρόρων ἔτ' εἰς ἔτ'. For the ancients, saies <sup>c</sup>*Theon*, took the year three waies, either by the Sun, or seasons; as spring, summer, autumn, winter, <sup>d</sup>(*Sophocles*. Εξ ἧρ' εἰς Ἀρκτῶρον ἐμμήνους χρόνους· χειμῶνι δ' ἥσιν—) or thirdly by the Moone: whose irregularity *Solon* is reported by *Plutarch* first to have marked. Observing therefore that she on the same day overtooke and surpassed the Sun, <sup>f</sup>καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἡ καταλαμβάνειν καὶ παρερχομένην τῷ ἡλίῳ, he caused that to be called <sup>g</sup>γῆν ἡ νέα the old and new, because that remnant, which was before the conjunction, he thought belonging to the

the precedent Moneth, and that remnant which was after the conjunction appertaining to the subsequent. (These peeces *h* *Aratus* calls συνώσεων Μηνῶν τεύρετα) in which matter he *h* In *Dioscor.* is thought to have had *Homer* in sight, who in his *Odyssey* *p. 125.* termes the thirtieth day, as *Didymus* expounds it, Τῷ ὡρ' ἐδί- *i* *Odys.* *ξ.* *pag. 164.* νντ' ὡρ' αὐτῆς, τῷ δ' ἰσαμείβουσιν. Where we may note that then they had no αὐτῆς, but counted from one to twelve in the ordinal numbers, used by *k* *Demosthenes* in one Oration, ἐν δέκα- *k* *Contra Ti-* τή, and δ' ὡς δέκατῃ ἑκατομβουσιν. Then putting the lesser to the *mocratem. p.* greater they said τρίτη ἐπὶ δέκα, τετάρτη ἐπὶ δέκα, the third above *446. n. 39.* ten, the fourth upon tenne, and so to twentie, \* But when at the *\* Vide Plutarch.* one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the *loco nuper lau-* Moon to be great, and the light almost lost, they changed the *dat.* order and used δέκατῃ φθίνοντ', ἐννάτῃ. &c. the tenth of the decrease, the ninth of the decrease, and so the twentieth nine, δεύτερῃ φθίνοντ', the second of the decrease, or from the end, going lower in number still, as the splendor of the Moon was diminished, but the 30th they call'd ἡνὶ κ' νία for the cause above. Here likewise they take the reason why the Moneth ending was ἐθίνον. *l* Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐθίνειν ὁμοῦ καὶ φθίνειν δόκει τὰ φθώρα. Be- *l* *Ulpian in* cause the daies and Moones doe as it were die, according to *Dem. p. 210.* that of *Horace*. *Novæque pergunt interire Luna.* *m* *Macrobius,* *m* *Macrobius* *Sat. l. c. 16.* *quid aliud nisi illum ἐθίνοντα dicit, cujus paulatim deficientis supputatio in nomen defuit secuturi: ὁ ἰσαμείβων illum, qui præcedit numerum successurus priori in defectum, meanti.* ἰσαμείβων standing to supply the place of the departing Moneth; fixed and still waiting untill the Moon shall have journeyed to the compleating and ending of the precedent time. Thus the last day of our lives is said to stand. *Virgil,* *n* *Stat sua cuique dies,* as unto which we must passe through all the rest, and once ap- *n* *Aeneid. 10. p.* proach. Thus squared they their times and state matters to 330: the Moon. Hence read we μῶας καὶ πόλιν ἀγειν, to count the Moneth as they do, who manage politick busineses, or belonging to government. In which course they made their year of CCCLIII daies, which divided into ten pars make ten times



Argum. Or.  
Dem. contra  
Androt. p. 380.

b Elemen. A-  
stronom. p. 31.

c Macrob. l. 1.  
Sat. c. 3. Plin.  
nat. hist. l. 2. c.  
77.

d In Theriac.

e Lib. 4. Ep. 8.

f In Il. ad α-

ραδὸν ἢ νυκτὶ

πρὸς δαί.

g Casaub. in

Athen. p. 931.

b Chronol.

Eclog.

i In 40 num.

24. p. 264.

times 35, which space each <sup>a</sup> *πρὸς αὐτὴν* ruled in its turne, the foure that abounded were called *ἀρχαῖοι*, in which they chose Magistrates, being for that time destitute of them. The year thus disposed, the Moneths must of necessity be *πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι* *cavi & pleni*, as <sup>b</sup> *Geminus*. *Οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν πλεῖν ἀγαθὴν ὁλοχρεῖσθαι λαμβανόμενοι μὴ αἰῶνι χρόνῳ εἰσὶν ἡμερῶν καὶ βῶτε δὲ δμῶν γίγνεται ἡμερῶν 13, ὅθεν διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ κατὰ πόλιν μὴ ἔχοντες ἀγροῦται πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι. διὰ τὸ τὴν Σεπτεμβρίῳ δμῶν ἡμερῶν 13 ἔχειν.* If a Moneth have 29 D: 1, two have 52. Because therefore the two halves might be made one whole, they so ordered it that now it should be 29 D. then 30 D: The *Athenians* counted their day from the setting of the sun on this day untill the going down of the next. In respect to which <sup>d</sup> *Nicander* may be thought to say of noone sleep, *ἀκράτεια δὲ δειν.* To take the rest at the beginning of the *even*. I know that the Ancients wrought but six houres in the day. <sup>e</sup> *Martial*, *sexta quies lassis septima finis erit.* Which <sup>f</sup> *Enstath* affirms in his Commentary on *Homer*. And therefore Z. H. <sup>g</sup> I. where the notes of the 7, 8, 9, 10. houres, which joyned make Z. H. <sup>g</sup>, as if they should have said to the Laborers, *Rest.* The beginning of the year was <sup>g</sup> *Hecatombæon*, *July*, the eight, saies <sup>b</sup> *Petitus*. They ever accounting that to be the first Moneth. In which order I have found them set down in a <sup>i</sup> Manuscript in our publique Library, only *Memasterion* is to be put above *Pyanepsion*.

Roman.

Ιαμβριος.

Φεβρουάριος.

Μαρτίος.

Απρίλιος.

Μαΐος.

Ιούνιος.

Ιούλιος.

Αύγουστος.

Macedon.

Αιγόκερας.

Υδροχόος.

Ιχθύες.

Κεί.

Ταύρος.

Δίδυμοι.

Καρκίνος.

Λέων.

Hebrew,

Σίβας.

Αβάρ.

Μεσαν.

Ιάβ.

Ψεδονάν.

Θιμνί.

Αβ.

Βάβ.

Egypt,

Τυβί.

Μαχαίρ.

Φαμβρόδ.

Φαριμθί.

Παών.

Παυνί.

Επφί.

Μισυεί.

Hellen.

Αυτναϊός.

Περίγειος.

Δύσεος.

Ξανθικός.

Αρτιμίσιος.

Δαίοσιος.

Πάικος.

Λώος.

Athenian.

Ἑκατομβαιών.

Μεταγεινιών.

Βονδρομιών.

Πυανεψιών.

Μαιμακτηριών.

Ποσειδών.

Γαμηλιών.

Ανθιστηνιών.

Σεπ.

Σεπτήμβριος.	Παρθενος.	Θισει.	Θυσια.	Γερπαιος.	Ελαφβολιων.
Οατωβριος.	Ζυγος.	Μεσιαν.	Φαωφι.	Ταυροβριος.	Μενυχιων.
Νοβέμβριος.	Σκορπιος.	Χαλιβ.	Αθναι.	Δις.	Θαργηλιων.
Δεκέμβριον.	Τοξότης.	Τιβηθ.	Χοιαν.	Απολλαι.	Σκίρροφοριων.

In which table although *Hecatombæon* be compared to the *Julian* Moneth *January*, yet it appeares not that *Hecatombæon* was ever so removed out of his place, as a *Petitus* will have <sup>a</sup> Eclog. Chr. it, *Epiphaneus* contradicting, of which by & by. Indeed when <sup>P. 42. 14.</sup> the Christians in honour of their Easter began the year in April, they called April *Hecatombæon*, as he *himselfe* Testifies. <sup>b</sup> Loco laud. But that *Hecatombæon* was alwaies the first Moneth is not probable. For when the *Athenians* under the dominion of *Alexander* the Great's successors changed the head of the year from *July* to the seaventh of *October* it is like that they <sup>c</sup> Ex MS. Bib- began at *Mamæterion* according to this *c* rule, lioth Bodle- nae in 80. n. 8.

Μαμακτηριων.  
Προσηλιων.  
Γαυηλιων.  
Αθνησιων.  
Ελαφβολιων.  
Μενυχιων.  
Θαργηλιων.  
Σκίρροφοριων.  
Εκατομβαιων.  
Μεταγεντιων.  
Βονδρομιων.  
Πυανεσιων.

<sup>d</sup> Certain it is that the same *Attick* Moneths are some- <sup>d</sup> Vide Petav; times Lunary, & sometimes not, but of 30 D: or *Julian*, When <sup>in Epiphan.</sup> they are Lunary they have no sure seat, but are now at this <sup>p. 138.</sup> time, then at another. And this hath been the Reason why the same Moneths have not been futed to the *Julian*, by writers

e Pag. 21.  
 f Pag. 163.  
 g In Olynth. 3.  
 h Pag. 148.  
 i Pag. 140.  
 k Pag. 167.  
 l Pag. 120.  
 m Pag. 167.  
 n Eclog. Chr.  
 l. i. c. 6. p. 213.  
 o Vide Petav.  
 in Epiphan  
 pag. 139.

Vlpian on Demosthenes parallels Hecatombæon to c January, and in the Oration for Ctesiphon, to March, and again to f April. g March he calls Beedromion, which also he interprets h June. Elaphebolion i November, k September (in the margin February) and l December. m Thargelion, April, Munichion January. Scirrophorion, March. Which errors are cursorily noted by n Petit in part, to no great satisfaction. But when by the decree of Augustus Caesar they were charged to conform their year to the Julian, they o thus numbred.

*Menses Attici. Menses Juliani*

Ελαρβολιών.	March.
Μεθυρίων.	April.
Θαρίλιων.	May.
Σκίρροφωριών.	June.
Ἑκατομβαιών.	July.
Μεταγειριών.	August.
Βοηδρομιών.	September.
Μαιμακτηριών.	October.
Πυανεσιών.	November.
Ποσειδεών.	December.
Γαμηλιών.	January.
Λυδισιαιών.	February.

But of this, so much only. We must handle their Lunarie year, because according to them were their feasts kept. From whence sometimes they would count, as <sup>a</sup> τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσον ἐν Διονυσίων. So much and as long since the Bacchanals; speaking of the age of a girl. For a more compendious way of comprehending their holy daies view this Almanack.

<sup>a</sup> Aristoph. p.  
 806. c.

*Hecatombæon. July.*

1	Πρώτη ἡμέρα, Πρυτανεία ἀερόπαι.
2	Τεῖπ.
3	Τετάρτη.
4	Πέμπτη.

Επὶ



- 5 Εἴη. Ἀθήνη. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡμετέρα ἐστὶν Ἀθηνῶν.
- 6 Εἰς δὲ μνη. \* Καὶ δὲ δὲ Θηοῦς εἰς Ἀθηνῶν. Kept in memory of the returne of *Theseus* out of *Creet*, after he had
- 7 \* Οὐδὸν. slayne the *Minotaur*, <sup>b</sup> *Plutarch*. The solemnitie <sup>c</sup> *Ovid* seems to describe: *Nullus Erethidis* <sup>b</sup> In vita p. 12. <sup>c</sup> *Metamorph.*
- 8 Εἰς αὐτὴν. fertur celebratio illa illuxisse dies, &c. the eight <sup>d</sup> 1.7. Fab. 23.
- 9 Δεκάτη. day of every Month was sacred to him. He had <sup>e</sup> Vide illum diligenter, Nam erit operæ pretium.
- 10 ὁ δὲ τὴν κατέστη.
- 11 Δεκάτη. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. <sup>d</sup> Pag. 446. <sup>e</sup> contra Timocratem.
- 12 Τρίτη. Κρόνια. Of these, as also of the day, speaks <sup>e</sup> In Annalib. vide Macrobi.
- 13 Τετάρτη. <sup>d</sup> *Demosthenes*. Then did the masters wait on <sup>f</sup> Satur. l. 1. c. 7.
- 14 πέμτη. their servants, as in the Roman Saturnals, <sup>g</sup> versus finem,
- 15 \* Ἑκτη. <sup>c</sup> *L. Accius*. Maxima pars Grainum Saturno, <sup>h</sup> Then were
- 16 Ἑβδόμη. & maxime Athena Conficiunt sacra, quæ <sup>i</sup> kept the
- 17 Οὐδὸν. Cronia esse iterantur ab illis, Cumque diē cele- <sup>j</sup> Metoimia in
- 18 Εἰς αὐτὴν. brant, per agros, urbesque fere omnes Exerceant <sup>k</sup> memoriall of
- 19 Εἰς αὐτὴν. epulis lati, famulosq; procurant Quisque suos. <sup>l</sup> their transmi- <sup>m</sup> gration. Plur.
- 20 Δεκάτη. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡμετέρα ἐστὶν Ἀθηνῶν. Hence was <sup>n</sup> p. 8. l. 9. By
- 21 Εἰς αὐτὴν. this Moneth called by the ancient *Atheni- <sup>o</sup> some it is ter-*
- 22 Οὐδὸν. ans *Κρόν*; afterward *Hecatombaon*, from <sup>p</sup> med *Εὐνομία*
- 23 Ἑβδόμη. ἐκατομβάων, sacrifices to *Iupiter* or *Apollo*, <sup>q</sup> Aristop. pag.
- 24 Ἑκτη. some think with the blood of an hundred <sup>r</sup> as 700. Plut. ini-
- 25 πέμτη. beasts: For so were they profuse in their sa- <sup>s</sup> tio Them.
- 26 Τετάρτη. crifices. <sup>t</sup> *Ovid*. *Taurorum sanguine centum*. <sup>u</sup> l. 12.
- 27 \* Τρίτη Παναθηναία <sup>v</sup> *The Scholiast*, of *Homer* <sup>w</sup> *Metamorph.*
- 28 Δεκάτη. sayes that *Hecatombe* may be used for five <sup>x</sup> In ll. α. <sup>y</sup> pag. 6.
- 29 Ἑνὶ καὶ νῆα twenty beasts, whose feet make up the num- <sup>z</sup> ber of an hundred, <sup>aa</sup> ὅτι καὶ ἐκατομβάων, ὃ ἔστιν ἐξ ἑκοσίων <sup>ab</sup> ζώων.
- \* To *Minerva* the protectresse of their citie, as hath been <sup>ac</sup> In vita p. 3.
- before said, instituted by *Theseus*, as <sup>ad</sup> *Plutarch*, καὶ παναθηναία <sup>ae</sup> l. 8.

δυσίαν ἐποίησε κοινῶν. At first they had the name Ἀθλῶναι, by *Erichonius*, or *Orpheus*. In the time of solemnization there were rare shews exhibited to the people, such as a horse races, wrestling, dancing in armour, called Πύρρην, from *Pyrrhus* that invented it; Then carrying in procession the *Peplus*, or robe, in which was wrought the fight of the Gyants. All which you may read in *Menysius* at large, and *Aristophanes* his Scholiast.

§ In Panathenais.

¶ Pag. 140.

197.180.181.

467.580.650.

746.

The second of this moneth is called τεῖτη, because it hath but 29 daies, and so alwaies in *cavis*.

*Metagitnion*. August.

From the sacrifices of *Apollo*, called Μεταγείτνια.

- 1 Κυεῖα ἐκκλησία. γ.
- 2
- 3
- 4 Κυεῖα ἐκκλησία. δ.
- 5
- 6
- 7 Πρυτανεία δευτέρη.
- 8
- 9
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- 17 Κυεῖα ἐκκλησία. α.
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Κυρία ἐκκλησία.β.

\* Boedromion September.

\* From this  
Month came  
the Feasts Boe-  
dromia, from  
Theseus over-  
throwing the  
Amazons.

Plut.p.9. or Ion  
helping the A-  
thenians against  
Eumolpus  
Bondromēn  
to aid because in  
necessity they  
made a cry. i

Aristophan.  
Bōlō īsaōz

Lucian.

ἐπικαλεῖσθαι.  
Latini. Quiri-  
tari, hence help  
came in.

a Collip.p.

234. b. lib.3.

b Tom. i. pag.

257. see Plut. in

Aristid. p.241.

c Sch. Aristop.

p. 247.

I

2 Νίκη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When Pausanias and Aristides over-  
3 threw Mardonius, Xerxes his General near Plataeae, a  
4 citie of Beotia, a Herodotus, b Justin.

5 Νίκη ἐν Μαραθῶνι. Miltiades leader of the Attick  
6 Κυρία ἐκκλησία.γ. forces got the upper hand of the  
7 Persians. In which battle  
8 when Cynegirus pursued the

9 Κυρία ἐκκλησία.δ. flying enemies to their ships,  
10 he caught hold of one with his

11 \* χειρὶς ἐλευθερίας. right hand, which lost, he made  
12 use of his left; that cut off, he in token of his prow-  
13 esse spared not his teeth, to the eternizing of his name  
for valour against his enemies.

14 \* Ἀγυρμὸς Μυσήρια.

15 \* In thankfulnesse for the delivery of Greece, at what  
16 time Darius and his fleet went homeward. b Aristi-  
17 des describes the joy at full, and the erecting of an Al-  
18 tar to Jupiter that freed them.

19 \* The greater in which they were made c ἐπίσταν, or  
20 admitted to the sight of that they worshipped. The first  
21 day was called ἀγυρμὸς, perhaps from the conflux of the

I 3

people



Here I look on  
Meursius for  
brevities sake  
but if you  
please to read  
severally, see  
Aristoph. Sch.  
p. 85 98. 131.  
138. 455.  
529. 647. 142.  
218. 227. 228.  
231. 233. 217.  
262. 264. 516.  
Aristid. T. I.  
p. 323. Clem.  
Alex. in Pro-  
trop. p. 10.

22 \* Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α. people. The second ἀλασεύ-  
σαι, because the Crier then  
23 warned them to goe to the sea. The third day they sa-  
24 crificed a Barble, because it devours the sea hare, an eni-  
25 mie to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket re-  
26 presenting *Proserpine* gathering flowers, which wo-  
27 men following cried χαῖρε Δήμητερ, Haile *Ceres*. The  
28 fift they ranne with torches. Hence λαμπροδραμία, and  
29 λαμπάδων ἡμέρῃς. The sixt *Bacchus* was carried in pomp.  
Hence it is termed ἰαχῶ. The 7<sup>th</sup> day they exercised in feats  
of activity & he that overcame had wheat given him. The 8<sup>th</sup>  
was *Epidauria* from *Æsculapius* his comming frō *Epidaurus*  
to *Athens* to be initiated. In the ninth they filled two mea-  
sures of corn, and setting one at East and the other at West,  
they powred them out, one looking to heaven and crying ἡὲ,  
the other to the ground, saying, περὶ. Thus *Meursius*. That  
day was πανωχόν.

a Sympof. Q.  
1.9. q. 6. & in l.  
αὐτὴ φιλαδέλ-  
φία. p. 33 I.

b Lib. de doct.  
Temp. r. c. 5.  
p. 11. D.

\* Mæmacte.  
tion is to bee  
inserted here.

The second of this Moneth was left out ever, saies a *Plu-  
tarch*, instead of which some are perswaded, the name onely  
was omitted, as πῆλρτη for Τεῖτη, which was recompenced by  
ἐνδεκάτη φθίνοντος, or ἱσαμῶν. As in a defective Moneth δεκάτη  
φθίνοντος, for the twentieth. Of this judgment is the <sup>b</sup> worthy  
*Petavim*.

\* *Pyanepsion*. October.

This moneth took denomination from the feasts *Pyanep-  
sia*. For mingling the remainder of their food after their ari-  
ving they put it into one pot, and seething it, were joviall al-  
together at the same.

1

2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.

3

4

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6

7 Πανάψια After that *Theseus* had buried his father,  
 8 he paid the vow made at *Delos*, to wit, if  
 9 he returned safe from the death of the *Minotaur*, he  
 10 would sacrifice unto him a pot of sodden beanes. Hence  
 11 Πανάψια, as it were κυμύψια For the antiques called  
 12 Αἰθρὸς εἰς τὰ θεζυφορεία. [beanes πνάμψι.  
 13 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

13

14 θεζυφορεία *cPlantus* calls this festivall *vigilias* *c* In *Aulularia*.  
 15 *Cereris*, which the *Attick* Dames  
 16 kept most sober and chaste, strowing their beds with *co-*  
 17 *νυζα* for that purpose, it being an enimie to lust. They  
 18 Πρυτανεία. their liquor freely. The number  
 19 of daies were three allotted, as

19 some, or foure, as others, When *Castellanus* saies that  
 20 *Ovid* makes them nine, is false; for that was the *Myste-*  
 21 *ria*, as we above have shewne. They were done in ho-  
 22\* nour to *Ceres*, that gave lawes first, as shee is termed *Δη-*  
 23 *μήτηρ θεζυφορείας*. Of these you may read *d Aristophanes*  
 24 and his Scholiast.

25 \* *Ασπίς* Kept this moneth. When the Parents *d Pag. 611.*  
 26 brought their children to their Tribes, to be inrolled, *770. 782.*  
 27 suppose for fear of deceit in patrimonies. Then they *783. 819. 820.*  
 28 made merry for four daies. *I 829.*

28 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α. The first was *Δομῆα*. The se-  
 29 cond *Αναρρῦσις*. The third *Κυρεῶτις*. The fourth, *Επιβῆα*.  
 30 *Καλλεῖα*. In honour to *Minerva*. *f Meursius* tea-  
 31 ches us that they were celebrated the  
 32 17 of this moneth, but *Petitus* hath *f Gracia Fe-*  
 33 thus placed them. *ria. l. i.*

## Memæsterion. November.

This moneth is to be placed before *Pyanepsion*, as I have above given notice, but in this Almanack I follow *Petitus*, who so hath set it, though much against the opinion of other learned: as Mr *Selden*, *Petavius* and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept as for most approved.

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Κυεῖα ἐκκλησία. β.

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Κυεῖα ἐκκλησία. γ.

Plutarch in the life of *Aristi-*

18

des, saies that the *Bæotians*, nay and *Greeks* send yearly

19

some to sacrifice to the memory of those that died at

20

*Plataeæ*, and every five year they have great pastimes,

21

which c he sets down the manner of.

22

c Pag. 241.

23

Πρυτανεία. δ. This moneth is derived from *Jupiter*

24

*Memæstes*: for I suppose they first found Gods, after-

25

ward festivals to them. Nor the moneths first, and

26

then named the Gods from them.



27

28

29

*Pofideon. December.*

From *Neptune*, who is *Pofidon*. For the first day of this moneth was sacred to him, as *Casaubon*. Hence hee thinks it to be called *Προσιδών* & *ἡμέρα*.

1

2

3

4 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία .α.*

5 *Διώνεια.* *Dionysia* τὰ κατ' ἀγέας. Without the citie. It seemes when they had gathered in, vintage

6 and pressed their grapes. *Διώνη Torcular*. Then were they

7 most jocund, as may appeare out of that *Like the voice of*

8 *them that tread the wine presse*, and in *Oppian*. *ἐπιλῶντα καὶ κωμῶντα* .α.

9 *χαίρειν*. On which words *Conradus Rittarshufius* takes v. 127.

10 *Διώνων* to be *Ianuary*. d Pagina. 18.

11

12

13 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία .β.*

14

15

16 *Αἰῶνα*. A feast to *Ceres*. The day doubtfull. c *Demosthenis* c Pag. 743.

17

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23 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία .γ.*

24

25

26 Κρεία ἐκκλησία. δ'

27

28

29 Πρυτανεία. ε'.

30

## Gamelion January.

1 From the marriages first made by *Cecrops*, of whom be-  
 2 fore we have spoken, and more you may read in *Tzetzes*  
 3 on *Lycophron*. That moneth wherein this people coup-  
 4 led, hence is called *Gamelion*, from *Γάμος*, *nuptiæ*. It is sa-  
 5 cred to *Juno*, who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and *con-*  
 6 *jugalis*, President of weddings and the marriage bed.

7

8

9 Κρεία ἐκκλησία. α.

10

11

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18 Κρεία ἐκκλησία. β'

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28 Κεῖα ἐκκλησία γ.

29

ἡμέρη ἀποδομένη

Antheſterion. February.

1

2 Κεῖα ἐκκλησία δ.

3

4

5 Πρωτογία ζ.

6

7

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9

10

11 Ἀνθεσίου

Kept in great mirth for three daies in the honour of *Bacchus*. The first *Προγία*

Of this you may see *Aristoph.* p. 293.

417. 419.

422. 222.

12 from *πίδοι* the tubs, and *δίζειν*, to open, for at the broa-  
13 ching of their vessells they drunk stiffely. The second

14 *Χεῖα* from *Chus*, a good capacious vessell. In this he that

15 *Κεῖα ἐκκλησία α.* could drink down the rest of his companions had a

The day was called

*χύτεα*

likewise but

not in the

sense spoken.

16 golden crowne. The third *χύτεα*, I suppose different  
17 from *χύτεα*. From this Festivall the moneth is named.

18 The twelfth of which *Dionysia* in *Limnis* were kept,

19 called *μεγάλα* & *ἡ μικρά*. The 13<sup>th</sup> were acted Comæ-

20 dies, begun the 3<sup>d</sup> yeare of the 93 Olympiad, when

<sup>a</sup> In Terent. p. 289.

21 *Callias* was *Archon*. But after they were taught as <sup>a</sup> *Do-*

<sup>b</sup> In Demost. p. 184.

22 *nat* and <sup>b</sup> *Vlpian* witnesse, and <sup>c</sup> *Aristophanes*, *ὅτι πᾶσι*

<sup>c</sup> Pag. 143.

23 *συντρέχει ὅπου μὲν τα κενὰ δέματα βλέπειν*, saies one.

24 *Κεῖα ἐκκλησία β.*

25

26

27

28



76  
29  
30

Elaphebolion. March.

1

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4 Κρεία ἐκκλησία. γ.

5

6

7 Θυσία Ἀσκληπείων. Κρεία ἐκκλησία. δ.

8

9

10 Πρυτανία. ε.

11

12

13

14

15

16 Διονύσια τε καὶ ἄγν.

c Contra  
Gtesiphont.

17

18

19

20 Κρεία ἐκκλησία. α.

21

22

23

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29 Κρεία ἐκκλησία. β.

Of these c *Æschines* makes mention, and you shall have them obvious every where in the Greek Authors.

*Minychion*

Munychion. April.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

Μένυχα. Πρυτανία ἐστὶν

Munychia were  
observed to Dia-

na, who was so called, and had a Temple in Munychia,  
by Athens. The moneth beares the name. In this  
moneth were the causes of strangers judged.<sup>a</sup> Arist.Sc.

Διαΐα.

To Jupiter Meilichius. The greatest day  
that the Attick rout was kept in. See of  
this<sup>b</sup> Aristophanes and <sup>c</sup>Eustathius.

<sup>a</sup> Avib. p. 60.

<sup>b</sup> Pag. 150.

<sup>c</sup> Ismen. &c.  
Ism. l. 1.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.

Thargelion. May.

1

2

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5 Κυρία εκκλησία .β.

6 Θαδύλια. To *Apello* and *Diana*; holding it to be their na-  
 7 tivitie. On this day did they expiate for the sinnes of the  
 8 people. For they were wont to nourish some base men,  
 9 and of no account, at the publique charge whom in time

a In Equites  
 pag. 353.

b In Ranis.

10 of pestilence, or the like they sacrificed for the sinnes of  
 11 the citie, Two in number, saies the <sup>a</sup> *Scholiast* of *Ari-*  
 12 *stophanes*, whence they were called *δυώσοι*: but more  
 13 properly *εὐθαίριατα* & *φαρμακοί*, <sup>b</sup> *Aristophanes*.

14

15 Κυρία ἐκκλησία .γ.

16

17

18 Κυρία ἐκκλησία .δ.

19

20 Βινδιδία

To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is  
 named *Βινδιδις*.

21 Παναθηναια μικρα.

Not much different from  
 the greater. See *Meursius*.

22 Κόμωθηα. Πρυτανεία .ε.

23

24 Πλωτόρια.

*Pettins* places it on the 24 day, o-  
 thers will have the 25. To *Miner-*

25 να, on which they take off the ornaments of her statue,  
 26 and wash it I suppose, <sup>c</sup> *Plutarch*, <sup>d</sup> *Xenophon*.

c Pag. 152.

d Ελλω .x.

p. 257.

27

28

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E H

Scirrophorion.



## Scirrophorion. Iune.

1  
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- 12 Σκίρα. To *Minerva* from *σκίρα*, a Canopie, under  
 13 which her Priests did walke in pomp at that  
 14 time: or from the statue of *Minerva* found in *Scirus*.  
 14 c Schol. *Aristoph.* c Pag. 497.  
 15 Βερόνια. It was not lawfull anciently to kill an Oxe: wherefore when one had slain that  
 16 beast eating the meale provided for the sacrifice, he  
 17 slew him and fled, in memory of which this day was  
 18 kept. Afterward they did mitigate the Law, and gave  
 19 licence to butcher an Oxe, so that he was not for the  
 20 plough. To which d *Juvenal* may allude. *Vi vetulus bos* d Satyr. 10.  
 21 Κυρία εκκλησία γ. *Qui domini cultris tenuē* v. 268.  
 22 *miserabile collum Præbet, ab*  
 23 *invito jam fastiditus aratro.*  
 24 Κυρία εκκλησία δ.  
 25  
 26  
 27 Πρυτανεία. ἡ φυλὴ πρυτανία, &c.  
 28 Where *Petitus* makes the foure first Tribes to governe\* *Athen. Rep.*  
 29 each his day, on those foure that abounded above the l. 2. c. 3.  
 30 year, \* *Sigonius* seems to agree, and \* *Maussacus* ap- \* In Notis ad  
 proves Harpocra.

\* De Doct.  
Temp. l. 2. c. 1.  
\* De emend.  
Tem. lib. 1.

proves it. Neither is it disliked by \* *Petavius*. \* *Scaliger* hath  
falsely taught us otherwise, who makes each *Prætantia* to rule  
36 daies, which none ever are to have done, except the first  
four.

## CAP. IX.

*De Tragœdia, Satyrica, & Comœdia.*

*a* Vid. Can.  
Chio. ad Gr.  
Epoch. Mar.  
Arund. p. 97.  
*b* Hermog. de  
Eloq. Meth. p.  
56 l. c. 33. Eu-  
stath. in Præf.  
ad Iliad.  
*c* Tract de  
Trag. & Co-  
mœd. præfat.  
Terentio.

*d* Marmo. Ar-  
runde. & ad  
ea Seld. CL.  
Præfixa etiam  
Aristophan.  
ὁ δὲ κῶμος.

Sch. in Naz.  
Stel. C. d. 106.

**I**T is take for granted among the Ancients, that *Homer*, who  
lived <sup>a</sup> 987 yeares before Christ, was the first that taught  
<sup>b</sup> *πρῶτος λέγειν*, to speak in Tragœdie; comprehending great  
and weighty matters in few words and very concisely, being  
more large and using circumlocution in matters of lesse con-  
sequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the pro-  
perty of a Tragœdian. This foundation being laid, following  
ages still built (though rudely) a structure to small perfection.  
*Nam post illius tale tantumque documentum, &c.* saies *c* *Donat*.  
For after that *Homer* by the *Iliads* had represented a Trage-  
die, by the *Odysses* a Comœdie, most ingenious imitators took  
those Poems and set them in order, and divided them, which  
at that time were inconsideratly, & without judgment writ-  
ten, impolisht, and in the first rudiments not so neat and trim,  
as in proceſſe of time they were made. For Poëſie was a great  
while in her minoritie, and very rude, after the first publish-  
ing of plaies. For we see little or nothing of <sup>d</sup> *Suſarion*, the first  
Comœdian, worth our time: some few verses only, & so few  
as may but witnesse such an Author. The original of the  
word Comœdie is supposed to be taken from divers reasons:  
First, because in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*,  
they sung them, and so it may be derived from *κῶμος*, *commef-*  
*satio*; *c* *κῶμαζεν*, signifying *αὐτὸς αὐχρῶς αἰδεῖν*, to sing basely  
at the cup. Secondly from *κῶμα*, sleep; because when any of  
the *Attick* husbandmen had been injured, it was the custom  
(as before hath been spoken) for the party abused, to come in  
the

the night season into the streets, and with a loud voice cry, such and such rejoyce in wrong; and commit such outrages, though there be Gods and Lawes. And after that, proclaimed the parties name, who on the morrow was fought out by the husbandmen and much shamed; by which these wrongs were redressed. Thirdly from *κωμῶν*, a street, because when the old Athenians would note a wicked mans life out to the world meeting merrily in the streets and high waies, they laid open, every mans life, and concealed not his name, f *In vicos & compita ex omnibus locis lati, alacresque veniebant: ibique cum nominibus singulorum vitam publicabant.* These verses were first sung g in the green Meddowes, h about the beginning of the spring; When the husbandmen kept the festivals of *Bacchus* the God of Wine, to whom they sacrificed a Goat, because his biting is an enemy to the vine, the skin of which they took and sowed up close, filled with wine, and anointed it with oyle to make it slippery, and so hopped with one leg upon it, making themselves laughter at the falls they often took. This sport they call *ἀσκαλίαζεν* from *ἀσκηδς* a skin and *ἀλῆσθαι*, to leap, i *Aristophanes*. *ἀσκαλίαζ' ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τὴν ἀ-δελαν.* k *Virgil* hath fitly set it out.

*Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris  
Ceditur, & veteres ineunt proscennia ludi:  
Premiaque lingentes Pagos & compita circum  
Theseida posuere; atque inter pocula lati  
Mollibus in pratis, unctos saliere per utres.*

After *Susarion*, sprang up *Thespis*, the first that made Tragedies, which by *Horace* are termed *Lachrymosa poemata*, sad poems; because they represent humane miseries the misfortunes of Kings and great men especially, there being no place for a poor man, but only to dance, as m *Arrian* hath observed. Which thing gave an occasion to n *Socrates*, when he saw the most worthy & rich put to death under the thirty Tyrants, to say to *Anisthenes*, doth it not repent thee that we in our lives never did some famous exploit? So in Tragedies we marke

L

that

f Donatus de Tra. & Com.  
g Idem ibid.  
h In Synopsi vitæ Aristop.  
Th. Magister.

i Plut. p. 108.  
k Geor. 2. p. 71.

l Isa. Tzerzes in Proleg. ad Poetas, inter-

prets *κωμῶν*, *αἰνῶν χαλκῶν.*

m In Epictet. p. 95.  
n Ælian. Var. l. 2. c. 11.



that such as *Atreus*, *Thyestes*, and *Agamemnon* are slain, but what Poet was yet so impudent as to bring a base fellow on the stage sacrificed? Not supernumerary is that of *Euripides* for *K. Archelaus*, desiring that he would write a Tragædie of him, who prayed that nothing proper to a Tragædie might happen to him; meaning sorrow and lamentation. For so is *Τεργασία* used, as *ο κομωσία* for joy and mirth, and glee conceits. The first Tragædie that *Thespis* taught was that of *Alceſtis* reprieving her husband from death by her own, as *p* Mr *Selden* hath conjectured. This *Thespis* was forbidden by *Solon* to act his Tragædies, as *q* ἀνὰ πρῶτον φασὶν ὁ Σόλων, a fruitlesse lying. *Herace* of him thus speaks.

*Ignotum tragica genus invenisse camena  
Dicitur, & plaustis vexisse poemata Thespis.*

*Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fœcibus ora.*

*o* Athen. l. 3. p. 90.

*p* Ad Marm. Arund.

*q* Laert. in Solone, p. 40.

*r* In Horatii Poeticen.

*f* Schol. Arist. p. 142.

*t* In Demost. p. 40.

*u* Stel β pag. 107.

*\* ως φ' ἁλόντες* p. 345.

*x* Antiq. Rom. l. 7.

Upon which words some have written, that his Poems were so voluminous, that he was constrained to bring them upon waines. But alas a poor conceit! *r* *Franciscus Lusinius Uticensis* is of opinion that *Thespis* carried his scene upon carres: and *Acron*; That the *Chorus* carried about in waines acted Tragædies. *Chori plaustis circumducti Tragædias agebant.* I avouch that at the first the Poets acted alone their own Fables: And to me it seems a ground for to stand on, the Greek Authors by the word *ποιητής*, intimating a Poet. *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ποιηταί, &c.* The ancients, saies *t* *Ulpian*, called the Poets *Hypocritas*, actors, which we now terme *Tragædi*, such as *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, &c. The place in which they sung their Poems, was a Scene upon a wain drawn in procession to the honour of their God *Bacchus*, as among the *Greeks* the custome was, saies the Scholiast of *Nazianzen*. Of the manner in those ancient times, *\* Plutarch* shall thus informe you. *Αὐτοὶ δὲ οἶνον καὶ κληματαί, &c.* A pot of wine and a vine twig, then one drawing a Goat, next another with a basket of figs and last of all the *Phallus*. In which solemnitie the Poets in waines following the pomp, might without controule laugh, scorne, and deride any they met, saies *x* *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*,

*scams*; or were wont, as the *y* Schol: of *Nazian*: to rayle upon *y* Loco laud.  
 each other. Whence *πυμπάειν*, is as much as to convitiate im- *z* Hermog.  
 pudently, ( though in a good sense sometimes *z* to celebrate Meth. de Elo-  
 the pomp, or goe in procession in honour to the festivall) and quentia, c. 2. p.  
<sup>a</sup> *πυμπεία*, a scandall or reproach, *ὕβρις, λοιδορία*. Whence like- <sup>519.</sup>  
 wise came the Greek proverb, <sup>a</sup> *ὡς ἐξ ἀμάξης λαβεῖν, tanquam* Dem. pro  
*ex planstro loqui*, and *ὡς ἐξ ἀμάξης ὑβρίζειν, tanquam ex plan-* Coron. p. 134.  
*stro convitiari*, to give reins to the tongue, to be free in abuse. <sup>b</sup> Schol. Arist.  
 Which that they might doe the better without shame, or <sup>c</sup> Vlpian. in  
 blushing, sometimes would they anoint their faces *amurca*, loc. cit. Dem.  
*olei face*, with the dregs of oyle, saies *Donat*, or of wine (for <sup>d</sup> Nubius p.  
 so I interpret *πύρα*) from which Poets by <sup>d</sup> *Aristophanes* are <sup>141.</sup>  
 called *πυρροδύμους*. *Horace--Peruncti facibus ora*. Sometimes <sup>e</sup> Vlpian. in  
 would they put on vizards, which lest they should hurt the Dem. p. 254.  
 head, were defended from the skinne with a wollen cap, na- <sup>f</sup> De falsa  
 med *πλῆθρον*. A word elegantly used by <sup>f</sup> *Demosthenes*, in a Legatione.  
 Metaphor drawne from the liberty and impunitie of the per-  
 sons that wore it. *Οὐκ οἶσι δίκην δώσειν πλῆκτων καὶ πύων ἀδι-  
 κημάτων καὶ πλῆθρον λαβών ἐπὶ τῷ κεφαλῷ*. Think not to e-  
 scape scot-free for such villanie, though you get a *pileum* on  
 your head. We may apply it in threatening to any slanderer, of  
 whom we surely intend to be revenged. But I seem to for-  
 get the Poet, while I speak of the stage; I wil therefore re-  
 turn to him. *Thespis*, as I said, was the first that invented  
 Tragædies; so called, as *Donat* tels, because ( lest there should  
 be rewards wanting, by which good wits might be stirred up  
 to write, and men encouraged to get them tunable voices *ad  
 dulcedinem commendationis*) they gave the Actors a Goat. *Ca-  
 per namque pro dono his dabatur*. *τράγος* is a Goat, and *ὠδή* a  
 song. *Horace, Carmine qui Tragico vilem certavit ob hircum*.  
 Before that time some say that *Epigenes* the *Sicyonian* made  
 Tragædies, but the most received opinion is this which *Ho-  
 race* hath set downe of *Thespis*. Before him there was no art  
 of poesie Tragically, but at their festivals, when they ascribed  
 all their mirth and delight to their Gods, they did it especial-

g Orat π-  
εσφ. p. 242.  
h Charact. vi.  
Cafaub.

i Georg. 2.  
k Cafaub. de  
Sat. Poesi. l. 1.

l Cafaub. ib.

m De arte  
poet.

ly to *Bacchus* (and so afterward, when Actors are called *Διόνυσοι τεχνῖται*, and *τεχνῖται*, simply by g *Demosthenes*, by *Denat Artifices*. The word is used for Jugglers, and such as *Hokus Pokus* in h *Theophrastus*) they would feast, and afterward scoffe and deride each other, which grew afterward a part of their solemnitie. They would moreover dance at rude Musick, and from thence suppose they the *Chorus* to have sprung up. They would likewise cast forth *αὐτοχρησάμενα*, as they terme them, in i *Virgil's* language, *versus incomptos*, k *Numeros innumeros eo tempore fundi solitos & sine arte*. For they had of old but two sorts of verses, *Heroicks*, in which they sung the praise of Gods and Noble men, and from this in a short time, with smale care grew a *Tragœdie*; the other sort was *Jambicks* as toying and lascivious as the *Phallica*, but biting too, & from hence came a *Comœdie*. At first small was the difference betweene a *Tragœdie* and *Comœdie*, l *constat sanè, primis temporibus ignoratum fuisse discrimen inter Tragœdiam & Comœdiam*, and the reason is, because even *Tragœdies* had their wantonnesse and petulancie. At first they sung in honour to *Bacchus* *Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting him they praised their *Demi-gods*, which when the people saw they cryed downe, with *Οὐδὲν αἰεὶς Διόνυσον*, whence our proverbiall adverb is fitly used *ἀνεγδιόνυσος*, for nothing to the purpose. But to give content to the people, the *Satyres* did *præludere*. But after that, when a *Tragœdie* took state they excluded the *Satyres*, and were only for sad and serious persons; by which mournfull poems the people were wont to be cast downe, sympathizing with the person represented. therefore to cheere them a *Chorus* of wanton *Satyres* were brought in by *Thespis* as m *Horace*.

*Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, & asper  
Incolumi gravitate, jocosum tentavit, eo quod  
Illecebris erat & grata novitate morandus  
Spectator, functusque sacris, & potus & exlex.*

In a *Satyrick* play, *Satyres* have a *Chorus* place, or else the persons



persons are Satyrick and ridiculous, and for the easing of the  
 mindes of the Spectators, they would bring in Satyres for  
 sports sake; and many of their Tragœdies had some mixture  
 of Satyrick sport,\* saies <sup>n</sup>Casaubon. *Fuisse aliquando pluribus n* P. 126 de  
*Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas fabulas.* Of this I say Sat. Pœsi.  
*Thespis* was the first inventor, who likewise to ease the *Cho-*  
*rus* (for that acted only) brought one actor upon the stage, <sup>o</sup> Laert.p. 220.  
 to whom *Æschylus* added one, and *Sophocles* another, so the  
 number was three, *Æschylus*'s is *ἀδελφωτικός*, *Sophocles* his  
*τετραγωνικός*, a word put for an obscure and base fellow in *pDe* p 184.  
*mosthenes*, *Vlpian*, *ὡς ἰδομενεὺς τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἀκτοῖς*, speaking of  
*Æschines*, if I remember, *Tully* calls them Actors *secundarū*  
*& tertiarum partium* <sup>b</sup> *Utin actoribus Græcis fieri videmus,* <sup>q</sup> In divinat.  
*sæpe illum qui secundarum & tertiarum partium, cum possit ali-*  
*quanto clarius dicere, quam ipse primarum, multum summitte-*  
*re, ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat.* But let me speak  
 what I have to say of a Tragœdie. <sup>a</sup> None was permitted <sup>a</sup> Plutarch. in  
 once to act *Æschylus*, *Euripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragœdies, <sup>vita X Rhet.</sup>  
 but they were to be recited by the Scribe, that the Actors <sup>p. 452. B.</sup>  
 might (as I conceive repeat them. *Τὸν δὲ πόλεως γεγραμμένα*  
*μεγαλυνώσκειν τοῖς ἀκτοῖς, ἕκ ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποκεί-*  
*νεται.* And to this purpose by a law of *Lycurgus* the Oratour  
 were they commanded to be transcribed, and kept under cu-  
 stodie *ἐν κοινῷ*. Yet the <sup>b</sup> Author of the life of *Æschylus* <sup>b</sup> Juxta finem  
 writes, that the people made a decree, that he should receive  
 such a summe of gold, that would *διδάσκειν* the plaies of *Æs-*  
*chylus* after his death. I put the word *διδάσκειν*, *docere*. Because  
 Tragœdians as well as the Comœdians were said *εἰς διδασχὴν*  
*ὅν προσήκειν ἐργάζεσθαι*, to labour in teaching the people. And  
 for this end did the ancients lay out so much mony upon their  
 Theaters. <sup>c</sup> *Sed immane quos quantosque sumptus, in Theatra,* <sup>c</sup> Heinſius  
*in Comœdiarum ac Tragœdiarum representationem fecerit an-* <sup>Poleg ad A-</sup>  
*tiquitas. Cum non mores tantum ab utrisque emendari, at pru-* <sup>ristarchum</sup>  
*dentiam conferri, sed & scripta antiquissima & formas Reipub-* <sup>Sacrum.</sup>  
*lica, ac vitam magistratuum, cum summo spectatorum fructu,*

in Comœdia examinari, factiones componi, ac gravissima subinde publico suppeditari crederent consilia. Not unfitly therefore did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the Theater. *I came hither to teach you, not to be taught by you.* Hence of a Tragœdie or Comœdie the Greek writers say, *διδάσκουσι, docetur fabula*, and *διδάσκουσιν, docere*, as sometime *διδάσκουσιν*, as you may see in *c Athenæus*. The following Poets did not alwaies represent their own Fables, but oft-times their predecessors; so saies *f Quintilian*, the people permitted the works of *Æschylus* to be dealt with, because in many places his verses were not set in order. Hee brought great grace to the stage, and first taught *σκηνογραφίαν*, the painting of the Scenes; which some think *Horace* to ayme at, when he saies, *Modicis instravit pulpita signis*. Which because it was perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay spoken affirmatively by some) to have been invented by him. *Sophocles* indeed did *πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν*, bring in many new things: such as leaving out the action of the Poet (for before the Poet himselfe acted) by reason of the badnesse of his own voice; he found out white shooes, which the Actors and Dancers wore; he made the number of Dancers fifteen, before but twelue; he fitted likewise his Tragœdies to the natures of the Actors, &c. But that he invented *σκηνογραφίαν* I cannot finde. Somewhat likewise was added by *Euripides*: *g* as to set out the Argument of the Fable in the beginning of the Tragœdie, as you may observe; leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the last and principall point of that one action which he would represent, which by the glory of our nation *h St Philip Sidney*, is not past by, as frivolous, without noting. These three were the Princes of the Tragick stile, who exhibited to the People every year at some certaine solemnities their Poems, striving who should get the victory by the approbation of Judges, chosen for that purpose, called *ἰ Διονυσιακοὶ Κριταί*, and *κ Κριταί ἐν Διονυσίῳ*; Ten in number, think some at first, gathering out of *Plutarch*, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Because

*d Athenæus*  
Dip. l. 6. pag.  
268. vide Ca-  
saub.  
*e* Pag. 270.  
*f* Lib. 19.

*g* T. Magister.

*h* In the de-  
fence of  
Poesie.

*i* Heinſius in  
Proleg. ad A-  
ristarchum  
ſacrum.  
*k* Æſchines  
cont. Cteſiph.

cause when he had brought the Reliques of *Theseus* out of *Scyrus*, *Aphepsion* the *Archon*, in gratulation to him, chose not the Judges as soone as the Theater was filled, and spectators placed; but presently after *Cimon* entred the Theatre with nine more of his fellow Captaines, of each Tribe one, after accustomed sacrifice he swore them Judges, who gave the victory to *Sophocles*, but then young; for which *Æschylus* grieving went into *Sicilie*, where he died, and was buried neare *I Gelas*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of these Critick Iudges was alwaies Tenne. This we acknowledge done in testimonie of high acceptation of *Cimons* service. And yet in judgment upon Tragœdians, the number might be so great. For there seems to be a difference between the Iudges of Tragœdies and Comœdies. The number of Tragick Iudges, grant we haply to be such as we speak, the power incontrollable, as from whom there was no appeal to others. *m Cum neque provocatio ab iis esset, neque de quibus illi judicarent, magistratus ceteri sententiam pronunciarent.* The Comick Iudges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek proverb, *πέντε κριταὶ ἐν γένει καὶ τῷ. sub quinque iudicibus lis est.* The *o* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* speaks somewhat uncertain. Iudges, quoth he, passe censures upon the Comœdians, and they who had five voices were happy. Those were all. For if there had been ten of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poets felicity to have had equall voices. For the odde gave a great stroake. Hence wishes the *Chorus* in the behalfe of the Poet -- *ἐνὶ κριτῇ νικᾷν μόνον*, to be Victor by one voice onely. Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick Iudges had free liberty of suffrages beyond the power of the people, the Comick had not: For when *Aristophanes* taught his *Νεφέλαι*, they so much tooke the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conquerour, *ὃ προσέταλλον τοῖς κριταῖς ἀνῶθεν Ἀριστοφάνῳ, ἀνὰ μὴν ἄλλ' ὅ γε σέβειν*, saies *p* *Ælian*, and commanded the Iudges to write *Aristophanes* uppermost (as the fashion was, which *q* *Aristophanes*

*l* Plut. Cimon. p. 352. l. 39.

*m* Heinsius loco laudato.

*n* Zenobius.

*o* Ad Aves p.

562.

*p* Var. H. l. 3.

*q* Avib. p. 562.

*nes*



nes calls *μεγέθειν ἐν πρῶτοις*, the most excellent first, the next to him second, and next to him third (which was no small praise, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honestum est in secundis tertiusve consistere*) and no other. For which cause I suppose the Poets before reciting, were wont to sacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Iudges and spectators. r *Aristophan*.

Ὅμνυμι ἐπὶ τέτοις πᾶσιν ἡμῶν τοῖς κριταῖς

Kaì τοῖς θεαταῖς πᾶσι—Where the Scholiast interprets ὁμνυμι truly as it is to be understood, *δοῦμαι* to supplicate. And good reason, For if they pleased not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with stones. To which use f *Aristophanes* points, saying—ἐκ ἐβόλετο; nay sometime would they hiss them, which they terme *κλῶζειν* and *σβεῖν*, sometime stamp them out of the Theater, which they call *περνοῦσθαι* by t *Pollux* interpreted *ἐβόλῃ καὶ πέρρῃ κατὰ κράν*. Another difference is that u the Comick Iudges were punished if they judged not right, the Tragick not so. And for these reasons have some conjectured, nay positively written, that their Iudges were of two sorts, old and new, in which matter, if there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they confounded both, making no oddes between the Critick Iudges of Tragoedies and Comœdies. But of this, Reader, you may determine as your Authors shall afford authority. Before Iudges, as I said, the Poets in emulation presented their labours, & they who in their opinion lost the day, were said \* *ἐκπίπτειν*, by x *Casaubon* interpreted *non stare*. The time of exhibiting their Tragoedies, were the holy daies of *Bacchus* called *Dionysia* in *Agris*, or *Lenæa*, in the moneth *Posideon*, on the *Antheſteria*, or *Dionysia* in *Limnis*, in the moneth *Antheſterion*, on *Dionysia* in *urbe* in the moneth *Elaphebolion*, to which I find added the *Panathenæa* by *Thrasylus* in y *Laertius*, which some deny, yet the same write that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this festivall. I say but one, because it was a custome among the Poets of ancient daies to entertain their people with

r Loco laud.

f Ranis p. 248.

t Lib. 6. c. 19.

p. 203.

u Æschines  
contra Ctesiph.  
p. 98.

\* Heinsius

Prolegom.

x Sat. Poesi.

y Platone

pag. 220.

with more playes then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut modo singulas committerent fabulas, modo plures, faies z Casaubon*: Sometime in the same year three, <sup>z De Satyrica Poeti p. 131.</sup> and then was it called *παιλογία*; sometime foure, and then they stiled it *παραλογία*, <sup>a Τα 3 παραλογ Δράματα ἐκάλειτο Τ Β Τ Ρ Α Λ Ο Γ Ι Α.</sup> Whereof, saies mine Author, the fourth was a Satyricall play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one and the same man, as those of *Æschylus*, named therefore *Orestia*; to wit, *Αἰσχύμου. Χονεόρου. Ευαρίδου*. Which are all extant; the fourth was *Proteus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the same subject, as that of *Euripides. Medea. Philoctetes. Dictys*. The fourth was *Θειστική*, saies the Author of the argument to *Medea*. Where the interpreter seems to me not to reach to the expression of the Greek word *Θειστική*, *Σατυρική*; *Messores, Satyros*; he ought to have rendred it thus *Messores, Drama Satyricum*. For that the word beares this sense is sufficiently dilucidated by <sup>b Casaubon.</sup> That the greatest task of action lay on the *Chorus* is as apparent as the Sun at noone. The number of them in Comædies were twentie foure; and six *juga* (each *jugum* consisting of foure; but *σείχαι* foure, each *σείχ* six men) in Tragedies fifty, untill the time of *Æschylus* his *Eumenides*, the number of which so terrified the people, <sup>c that the children and younger sort fainted, & the women suffered abortion; for which reason, saies Pollux,</sup> the number was lessened (which some deny) by law. They were by that Act brought to fiteene, five *juga*: I say *juga*, because they were divided into *σείχαι*, and *ζυγαί*. *ζυγόν* was when the *Chorus* entred by three, & then it was called *κτὶ ζυγαί. παραλογική*, by file. *Σείχαι*, when they came on the stage in ranke five at a time; and this they terme *κτὶ σείχαι*. Sometime one of them entred alone, which they say *καθ' ἑα*. Of interlocutors the ancients for the most part never had above three; but if a fourth spake, that they named *Ἰσοχρήστια*; and if the *Chorus* supplied the part of a fourth actor, it was stiled *Ἰσοχρήστια*. To speak of the severall verses of Tragedies, is *ἄκτιστον ἀγερναι*.

<sup>a</sup> Laertius  
loco citato.

<sup>b</sup> Lib laudar

<sup>c</sup> Author vitæ  
Æschyli.

and I had rather speak of the action, then the art in composing, and yet not much, only this of their motions, termed *σπῆσαι & ἀντισπῆσαι*. Σπῆσαι, saies the Scholiast of *Pindar*, is a turning from the right hand to the left, in analogie to the motion of the universe *ἀπὸ πρὸς*, from the East to the West; because *Homer* calls the East the right hand, the West the left: Contrary to the Hebrews, who terme the South *7 amin*, which signifies the right hand, and the North they counted the left. *Ἀντισπῆσαι* was a turning from the West to the East, that is from the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another posture they had in their *Epodes*, for (if it be so in Tragœdies, as in Lyrick Musick, which I beleieve) to expresse the immobility of the earth they stood still. They used *Epodes* for the most part at the end of the Acts, when the players avoided the stage. Thus much of Tragœdies; the authors of which were highly of old esteemed of; insomuch as after the dismal discomfite of the *Athenians* in *Sicilie*, they were relieved, who could repeat somewhat of *Euripides*. Nay, by a law made by *Lycurgus*, & established in *Athens*, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, had statues erected in brasse for the continuation of their memorie. After Tragœdies had proceeded to perfection, Comœdies were with great applause taught, as *Horace*,

*Successit vetus his Comœdia, non sine multa*

*Laudè-*

He saies, *vetus Comœdia*, because a Comœdy was divided into three, or if you please so to speak, two sorts, the Old and New. I said three sorts, because\* the old was different from it selfe. The meaning is, that the old Comœdie, of which *Su-farion* (by some named *Saunyrion*,) was author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decencie. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the smoaking Altars, sung *simplex carmen*, some naked verses, saies *Donat*. Which by *Cratinus* was redressed; for he ordained three Actors and mingled with his sport, profit, I meane for instruction. For under the *Democracie* it was lawfull to exagitate and propose for

d Plut. in fine vitæ Nicæ.

e. Plut. in vit.

x. Resp. Paul.

Atticis. p. 18,

f De arte Po-  
etica.

\* Grammar.

ἡ παλαιά

ἐαυτῆς διαφέ-

ρεται.



for a laughing stock Captaines and corrupt Judges, Citizens given to bribery, and such as lead a dissolute life, naming the men upon the stage and fitting the Actors with vizards, bearing the shape of those whom they intended to deride. But as the state grew to an *Oligarchie*, that licence was taken away, *Empolis* being cast into the sea by those, against whom he wrote his Comœdie *Bapta*, and so drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not *ἰνὸν ὁνομαζέειν Κόμωδον*, to name any whom they wrote his Comœdie of. Of which *Horace*,

— Sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim

Dignam lege regi. Lex est accepta, Chorusque

Turpiter obtinuit sublato jure nocendi.

*a* Hermog.  
Partiti. p. 76.

But when *Alexander* of *Macedon* grew potent and a terror to *Greece*, the Poets fearing lest any of their abusive wit might displease the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their plaies, & instead of abusing states & people, they fell upon ancient Poets, or some part of Historie not truly written, personating the Actors so as to be most ridiculous:

*b* sometimes scoffing on the stage at mean men, and this they termed *Νέη Κόμωδία*, the new Comœdie. But afterward it

was a peece of the *Athenian* policie to forbid that the people should be tossed on the stage, unlesse they would themselves,

saies *c* *Xenophon*, knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier sort, *πλουτοῦ, ἡλικίας, δαπάνης*.

Some are of opinion that no Player came on the stage untill thirtie or fortie, I dispute not the matter, sure I am that *Sophocles*

taught his first Tragœdie at twenty eight, in which doubtlesse himselfe came on the stage. It being among the

*Athenians* no disgrace, as the *Romans* accounted it, to appear there. *d* *Emilius Probus*. In scenam verò prodire, & populo

esse spectaculo nemini in eisdem gentibus. (*Græcis*) fuisse turpitudini: quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia,

atque ab honestate remota, ponuntur. The place where the people beheld these plaies and pastimes was in the market place,

where they nayled scaffolds to a black poplar tree. For in

*b* Donat. Generaliter ad omnes homines qui medicis fortunis agunt, &c.  
*c* Athen. Rep.

*d* Præfatione ad vitas. p. 2.

*e* Meurs. Attico Lect. i. 4. c. iij.

ancient time they had no Theater of stone; only of wood; which they call *κίβη*. f *Aristophan.*

f *Theſmoph.*  
p. 787.

-- *Ἀπὸ τῶν κίβητων*  
*ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν*—

g *Casaub. in*  
*Theoph. p.*  
245.

h *Zenobius.*

i *Cont. Leo-*  
*cha. p. 617.n.*  
50.51.

k *Olynth. r.*  
p. 7.  
l *Lacon. apud*  
*Plut. Mor. p.*  
421.

m *Lib. 6. fine.*

These were built by some, who upon some consideration of money admitted any to a seat, named therefore g *Θεασιῶται*. Once it seemes places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuses. For striving to get places, there rose wrangling and brawles, and fights, wherefore the *Attick* Senate ordained that each place should be hired for two *oboli* (in the Consulship of *Diophantas*, a *Drachme*, say some, whence rose the Proverb, *ἡ Δραχμὴ χαλῶσα*; because at the establishing of it, there fell haile) This money they called *κίβη*, from *κίβητος*: because with it they did *κίβητιν ἀγοράζειν*, buy a seat to behold the shew exhibited. Now because the poore people had not to give, & so were deprived of the spectacle, *Pericles* desiring to be popular, made a law that they should receive out of the Cities revenues two *oboli* each man, i For the right of exacting which money, they were to produce the authority of the *Lexiarchicall* Relles, as appeares out of *Demosthenes*. For the distribution of this were certaine officers appointed, named *οἱ ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ*. But afterwards *Apollodorus* strove that in warre and publike necessity, these sumes might be employed in military affaires, but he endeavoured in vaine; *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting it capitall for any that should attempt that which *Apollodorus* did; Which makes k *Demosthenes* desist, willing, yet not daring to perswade to convert the money to the use of the Armie. But see the folly of them! l For they spent as much on these sports as in obtaining the Masterie and liberty of Greece. And the end was miserable: for they became effeminate, and so put their necks under the *Macedonian* yoke. m *Iustin* of the death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amisso, quem amulari consueverant, in segnitie torporemque resoluti, non ut olim in classem exercitusque, sed in dies festos, apparatusque ludorum, redditus publicos*

publicos effundunt: & cum auctoribus nobilissimis, poetisque the-  
atra celebrant, frequentius scenam, quam castra visentes. Versi-  
ficatores Oratoresque meliores, quam duces laudantes. Tunc ve-  
tigal publicum, quo ante milites & remiges alebantur, cum ur-  
bano populo dividi cœptum est. Quibus rebus effectum est, ut  
inter otia Græcorum, sordidum & obscurum antea Macedonum  
nomen emergeret, &c.

Of the Theater I wil say little, as al-  
so of the stage: Only that the places in the Theater were not  
promiscuous. For there was a distinction between the Se-  
natours and younger sort. The Senators were named *ἡγεμόνες*,  
among which it is probable the Judges had the first place,  
as *o Polux*. The seats for the youth were called *ἑφηβικόν*. One  
part of the stage was *Orchestra*, in which was *θυμῆλη*, either  
a Tribunal or an Altar, That upon all their stages there was  
an Alter sacred to *Bacchus*, is apparant out of *Donat*: he saies  
it stood on one side of the stage, before the doores, *Pollux*: who  
names it *Ἀλδῆς*. There was moreover a Table called *ἐπισκή*,  
on which before the time of *Thespis* some body ascending in  
the Poets place, did answer the *Chorus*. . p *Plutarch* thinks  
*Θεῶν* to be derived from *Θεῶς*, because that before the buil-  
ding of Theaters the ancients embracing *Musick* only for in-  
stitution of youth and praise of their Gods, sung the commen-  
dation of good men, and honour of their Deities in Temples.

n Aristoph. p.  
578.

o Lib. 4. c. 19.  
p. 102.

p De Musica:  
P. 441.





# LIBER TERTIVS.

## C A P. I.

*De Legum latoribus Atticis. Νόμοι, ἄρχοντες καὶ ἑγγεγραφοί,  
ἡγήματα. Περίβλεψα. De sanciendis Legibus.*

<sup>a</sup> Lib. 2. p. 27:

<sup>b</sup> Arist. Plut.  
pap. 67.  
<sup>c</sup> In Theseo  
p. 8. l. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Problem.

7μ 13'. φ. κ. η.  
fol. 189. b.



<sup>S</sup> <sup>a</sup> Justin hath been too forward in relating the mutation of the *Athenian* government passing by the perpetuall & decennial Consuls, and naming only the yearly: so hath he erred in the originall of their Lawes, making *Solon* the father of them. But it seems otherwise. For, as <sup>b</sup> Gerardus hath observed, *Theseus* gave Lawes to the *Athenians*. And <sup>c</sup> Plutarch witnesseth, that when he congregated the *Attick* people, and constituted a *Democracie*, he reserved onely to himselfe the government of war and custodie of the Lawes. δημοκρατίαν (προτείνων) αὐτῷ μόνον ἄρχοντι πόλεως καὶ νόμων φύλαξι χρησαμένην. Adde to this, that before the knowledg of letters and writing, it was a custome among the ancients to sing their Lawes, lest they might forget them, used in the daies of <sup>d</sup> Aristotle by the *Agathyrsi*, a people near to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the rules

rules of Musick, for the true keeping of time, singing, and playing, are supposed to be called Νόμοι. Neither may it be thought otherwise, because all the notes of the *c Lydian, Hypolydian, &c. Dorick, Hypodorick, &c. Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Jonick, &c.* songs were distinguished by the Alphabet. Yet *f Plutarch* is of opinion, that they derived the word from those bounds, which the Musicians of old prescribed, for the tuning of voices or instruments, lest they might be confounded; and therefore he calls it *οἰκείαν τάσιν*. *g Idem.* Νόμοι γὰρ *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο παρὰ βλάσαι καὶ δύνανται νεομισμένον ἢ δὲ τὰς αἰσας.* The *Greeks*, saies *h Cicero*, think the cause of this word, *jus suum cuique tribuendo*, intimating *ῥέμειν*, which signifies to distribute, because the Law gives every man his due. Thus see we, that there were Laws of yore; let *i Justin* say *Nulla civitati leges tunc erant, quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur*; That the Citie was without Law, because the wills of Kings were Lawes. In succeeding ages, and before *Solon* too, *Draco* gave Lawes, living about the three hundred and ninth *Olympiad*. His Acts, saies *l Ælian*, were called *θεσμῶν*. *Ἐπελὼντο δ' ἐκείνοι θεσμῶν*. Now *θεσμός*, by *m Virrian* is interpreted *νόμος* *ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ δόμειν πὸς δὲ τομοδότην*. A Law giving in precept how to make a Law, And yet *n Aristotle* calls them *νόμοις*, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great severity. Which gave occasion to *a Herodotus* to say, that they were not the Lawes of man, *ἀλλὰ δὲ δράκοντος*, in a double sense of the word, which is also put for a Dragon. And *b Demades*, that they were not written with black, but bloud. For he punished every peccadillo almost with death, those that were convicted of idleness, or stealing of pothearbs, alike to the sacrilegious and man-slayers. Wherefore were they made of none effect by *Solon*. For he abrogated all, except those which concerned murder, intituled *ΦΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ*. Him succeeded *\* Solon*, a man so well tempered, and equall betwixt the Commons and the Peeres, that he was beloved of both

*e* Vide Alypi-  
um in Isagoge  
Musica.

*f* In libro de  
Musica.

*g* Loco citato  
pag. 437.

*h* De leg. lib.  
1 fol. 16. b.

*i* Loco laudat.

*k* Clem. Alex.  
p. 226.

*l* Variæ hist.  
1. 8. c. 10.

*m* Arg. orat.

con. Lepti.

*n* Polit. 2. c. 10.

*a* Arist. Rhet.

1. 2. c. 44.

*b* Plut. in So-  
lone. p. 63. l. 2.

*\* Demosth.*

p. 70.

*\* His lawes*  
continued 100

yeares saies

Plutarch in

strength. In.

Solone p. 66.

*&* afterward

by little and

little decayed.

*Ælian.* Var.

his. 1. 2. c. 22.

*If any speake*

against them,

he had corpe-

rall punishment.

both, having still a care, lest while he should side with one, he might displease the other. Whom, for his uprightness, c *Juvenal* styles *Iustum*, and for the care of the Republic, which d *Demosthenes* averres he had in all his Lawes, e *Aristophanes* termes, φιλόπῳον, a lover of the people. f *Plato* brings him learning his Lawes from a *Barbarian*. And g *Plutarch* tels us that he travelled afterwards into *Egypt*. But it seemes by h *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that in the making of his Lawes he had the approbation and judgment of the *Egyptian* Priests. Et *Solon adjunctus sententiis Egypti Sacerdotum, latis iusto moderamine legibus, Romano quoque Juri maximum addidit firmamentum.* i *Diodorus Siculus* relates two things brought from thence to the *Athenians* by him. First, that all the *Egyptians* were compelled to bring to the Governours of the countries their names written, and by what meanes they sustained themselves; wherein if any were found false, or that lived by unjust gaine, hee fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a custome among them, that payment should be made onely with the goods of the debtor, and that the body should not suffer. For they thought the estate alone to be subject to the creditor, the bodie addicted to the Cities in which they lived. Neither was it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergoe hazard for their country, should for usurie be committed to prison, or the country be in jeopardie for the avarice of some one man. Which induced *Solon* to make the first decree, as k *Laertius* and l *Plutarch* say, of freeing the bodies; which, if there were not wherewithall to satisfie the craving loaner, were compelled to serve. He therefore cut off all use, a as some write, or else b lessened the burthen of it, making it more moderate by his Law Σείω χείρα: so called from Σείω, to shake off, and χείρα, an heavy weight. Forgiving himselfe first, c as *Laertius*, seaven talents; or, as d *Plutarch*, five. But this seemes to have been done for the avoiding of the aspersion cast upon him as accessarie to the injuries of some, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed much

c Sat. 10. vers.

274.

d Κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν.

Pag. 390.

e Pag. 190.

f In Timæo.

g In Solone.

P. 66. l. 31.

h Lib. 12.

i Bibliotheca.

k Initio vitæ Solonis.

l In Solone.

P. 62. l. 3.

a Plutarch. p.

62.

b Androtio.

c Loco laud.

d Pag. 62. ff.

τετρεκαταίος Πό-

λυζetus Rhod-

dus.



much mony with hope of never making restitution. *e* *Casau-*  
*ban* is conceited, that this was not his first exploit, but long af-  
 ter he had fate at the sterne of the Weale-publique. Yet it  
 seems probable; There being no more compendious way to  
 make a man popular, then to give liberty to the common peo-  
 ple. Which he, to bring in an innovation of Lawes, did wil-  
 lingly invent; and they afterwards lovingly accepted. For in  
 testimony of their approbation, they kept a Festival named  
*f* *Σεσαχθεια*. Here likewise may you observe the ancient flat-  
 tery of the *Athenians* towards their own vices, putting gil-  
 ded names on those things; which themselves were ashamed  
 of, calling *g* *πόρνη, ἐπαίρει, πόρνη, (σωτάζει, ευλακός, φρεός τῷ πύ-*  
*λεων, δεσποτῆ. ον ὀκνηα &c.* as our blades name drunkenesse  
 good fellowship; whores, the sinners; and niggardise, thrif-  
 tineffe; springing from this root of *Solons*, who called *ἡσέων*  
*ἀποκοπῶν Σεσαχθεια*. *h* To these Lawes two ends were pro-  
 posed, mutual commerce, and direction of behaviour to-  
 wards the state. *i* To curb wickednesse, and unjustice; and to  
 punish offenders that they might be bettered. And although  
 they were the ordinances of *Draco* and *Solon*, yet may we  
 fitly call them the *Athenian* Civil Law. Each Citie, as *k* *ἡ*  
*stinian* teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. *Nam*  
*si quis velit Solonis vel Draconis leges appellare ius civile A-*  
*theniensium, non erraverit.* They were engraven in tables of  
 wood called *ἑξήκοντες*, triangular, if we may believe the  
*m* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, who quotes *Aristotle* and *Apollo-*  
*dorus*, witnessing that they were called *κῆρυκες* also, *ὡς τὸ κα-*  
*κορυφώδεις ὡς ὁ ἀνατεταμένον*, from the elevation. *n* Some are  
 of opinion that the Rites pertaining to the Gods and their  
 worship were written in the *Cyrbes*, and Lawes belonging to  
 men in the *Axones*. *Apollodorus* sayes that all decrees are  
 called *Cyrbes*, because they were written in stone, and so set  
 up, *a* which from their standing, were termed *σῆλαι*. I know  
 that decrees, merits, praise and dispraise too, were written in  
 stone. Whence *βλὺς σῆλαι τῶν δικῶν* may be put for a Treatise  
 N  
 tending

*e* In Laert. p.  
14.

*f* Plutarch. p.  
62. l. 43.

*g* Plutarch. loco  
laudato.

*h* Demost p.  
477.

*i* Idem p. 484.

*k* Institut l. 1. c.  
Tit. 2. Sed ius

quidem civile  
ex unaquaque  
civitate appel-  
latur, veluti  
Atheniensium;

*l* Sch. Apollo.

Rho Argo. 4.

*m* In Avibus  
pag. 604.

*n* Vide Plur.  
pag. 66.

*a* ἀπὸ σῆλτος.

*b* Vide Non-  
num in Naz.

σῆλ' α,

tending to a mans disgrace. But this by the way. These Tables were kept in the *Acropolis*, translated afterwards to the *Prytaneum* by *Ephialtes*, where to the daies of *c Plutarch*, some reliques of them were to be seen. The *Autographon* or copy written with his own hand was not removed, but those that were transcribed by them. Because in matters of doubt and controversie they might have recourse unto them. \* For the distinction of which, some think that *ὁ καὶ πρὸς τὸν νόμον* is used in *Demosthenes* for that in the *Prytaneum*. Others for the Law in the lower part of the Table; but to me it seems improbable, for then the number of the Table ought to be cited; and indeed, one Table sometime could not containe a Law. For we read in *d Plutarch*, that the eighth Law was cut in the thirteenth Table. I am not averse from the ghesse of *Petitus*, who supposes the Orator to mean the Law which afterwards he quotes; nor ignorant of the Opinion of some, who think that it is to be understood of the under line. For the Lawes being written *βυρογραφῶν*, *converso sive retrogrado literarum ordine*, saies *e Sylburgius*; which *f Pausanias* explaines, *ἐπὶ τὰ λαὲ ἐκ δεξιῶν*, from the right hand to the left, *g* or more significantly, *Ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου τοῦ ἑπεὶ ἐπιστρεφῆς τὸ πᾶν τὸ δὲ τε οὐκ ὡς πρὸς τὸ διακλῆν δρόμῳ*. When the second verse begins at the end of the former, as in the race which they call *Dianlus*, or if I shall speak nearest to the word, as husbandmen turne their Oxen when they plough, as for example.

ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ See those that have written of divers waies of writing.

They therefore take the lower, that is turned, *ὁ καὶ πρὸς τὸν νόμον*. After this manner were the Lawes written, and doubtlesse there was some customes as strong as Lawes. For although the *Lacedæmonians* governed by tradition of custome, and the *Athenians* by written statutes, as *h Josephus*, yet surely had their customes great force, insomuch as *i Aristophanes* uses *νόμον* for *ἔθος*--*Ἀλλὰ νόμον κρατέμεθα*. <sup>a</sup> *Scholias*tes. νόμον νόμον ἔπαντα ἢ χρημῶν φησὶν αἰνὰ τὸ ἔθος. So did the <sup>b</sup> *Greeks* divide

*c* In Solone pag. 66.

\* Pollux. l. 8. pag. 408.

*d* Solone pag. 63. l. 37.

*e* In Pausaniam. p. 426.  
*f* In Eliacis pag. 174.  
*g* Eodem lib. pag. 165.

*b* Contra Ap-  
pionem. Vide  
Iustinianum.  
Iust. l. 1. tit. 2.  
*i* In Avibus  
pag. 576.  
*a* Pag. 577.  
*b* Vide Iustini-  
nianum.

divide their Lawes into *ἑνράδους καὶ ἀράδους*, written and un-  
 written. The unwritten, *sine scripto jus venit, quod usus ap-*  
*probavit*, use. The Interpreter of *Sophocles* thus. Νύμθ *ἔστιν* *ἑνράδθ* *ῥωτέται*, *ῥωτέται* ἡ ἀράδθ νόμος. A Law is a writ-  
 ten custome, and a custome an unwritten law. Besides these  
 there were decrees, which they termed *ἡγοίσματα*, *psēphis-*  
*mata*, a word used by *Cicero*, nothing different, *ἡγοίσματα* *ἔστιν*  
*ἡγοίσματα* *ἡγοίσματα* *ἡγοίσματα*. *e Demosthenes*, who meanes in ver-  
 tue and power. For they differ much. *f* A Law maintaines ju-  
 stice once found, common for ever. A *Psephisma* followes  
 the necessity of the time, as it differs in events: it directs not  
 warlike affaires, but is applied unto the occasion of armes, and  
 as lawes can be abrogated, so degrees changed. And here  
 ought we to note, *g* that no decree is greater then a Law. Of  
 decrees there were two sorts; *h* *τὴν Βουλῆς ἡγοίσματα*, such as  
 the Senate by it selfe established, which were but of twelve  
 moneths continuance; to the confirming of which, the people  
 were not convocated, or their consent required, termed *i* *ἡγοί-*  
*σματα*, which *Demosthenes* proves to be *ἡγοίσματα*, *Ulpian*.  
*ἡγοίσματα*. Like to the edicts of the Roman Prætors which  
 lasted but a year. *k* *Cicero*. *Qui plurimum tribuunt edicto,*  
*Prætoris edictum legem annuam esse dicunt.* In other decrees  
 the opinion and good liking of the people was asked, for the  
 giving of the Authority unto them, which endured in force a  
 longer time. *l* *τὰ δὲ ἡγοίσματα τὴν δὲ δὴμιονόμια, καὶ ὁλεῖονα ὡς ἐστὶν ἡγοί-*  
*σματα*. And therefore we may easily know a *probuleuma* from a  
 decree of the peoples confirming, by this observation. *Εἰδὲ*  
*ἡγοίσματα* only, gives us to wit, that it is a *probuleuma*. *Εἰδὲ*  
*ἡγοίσματα*, in the beginning of a decree, shewes it to be *ἡγοίσματα*  
*ἡγοίσματα* *ἡγοίσματα*. The Senate alwaies sate in consulta-  
 tion about that which was to be enacted, whether any dam-  
 age might accrew to the State by it or no, the Law com-  
 manding that no decree should goe forth without deliberati-  
 on. *m* *ἡγοίσματα* *ἡγοίσματα* *ἡγοίσματα*. Which  
 done, the *Prytanes* took certain Tables and wrote on them

*c* In Aiacem  
Locarium.

*d* In Orat. pro  
Flacco.

*e* Cont Lept.

p. 296.

*f* Aristides.

Tom. 2. p. 30.

*g* Demosthen  
pag. 416.

*h* Demosth.

*καὶ* *Ἀειρονεγί-*

*τες*. p. 417.

*i* Vlp. in Dem.

p. 418.

*k* In Verr. 1.

*l* Ulpian loco  
laudato.

*m* Ulp. in Arg.

Orat. And.

p. 181. Vide

Dem. p. 182.

n. 10. vi. Plut.

Solone. p. 63.

l. 31.



Such or such a day about such a time there should be an assembly to consult of these and these affaires: and this they called ἀπεργαυμα. When then they were assembled, and the people purified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, stood; if not, decayed. It was forbidden that any should raze out a Decree of any Table. And he was brought in question of life, who should presume in making a decree to pretend a fallacie. Now because future time might haply perceive some inconveniences to arise by oversight in their Law giver, and that as abuses should happen, which in his daies were not discerned, so there would be a necessity of making new statutes: It was ordained therefore that every year there should be ἀρχηγεγορία νόμων; which <sup>b</sup> Ulpian expounds διασκεψις, τι δε ποιειν δελ τῶ νόμων. A consideration of what ought to be done concerning the Lawes. <sup>c</sup> The manner was thus. Every Eleventh day of July in the assembly, after the Cryer had made his Prayers, as his fashion was, and shall anon be spoken of, the Lawes were red over in order. First those which concerned their Senate, next the weale-publique, and thirdly the nine Archons, & afterwards the other Magistrates. Then was it demanded if there were Lawes enough for the Senate, and so for the Common-weal, &c. If any of the Lawes in force were to be abrogated, it was adjourned until the last of the three dayes of the three Convocations. On which the Prytanes, appointed for the revising and reciting of the Lawes, were to take the matter in hand. The Proedri chiefe of the Assembly, were to <sup>d</sup> acquaint them with it. Five men at the first meeting, were chosen out of all the Athenians, who should patronize the Law to be abolished; and according to the Judgment of the Nomothetae, chosen out of the Council of five hundred, was the businesse carried, that the Lawes should be of none effect, or full strength. Whosoever would bring in a new Law, was to write it in a Table, <sup>e</sup> εἰς ἀδωνια, Demosthenes, the forme thereof, and set it up at the Statutes of the Herpes before spoken of, <sup>f</sup> ὡς δὲ τῶ νόμων, which

<sup>a</sup> Sch. in Naz.  
σηλ. 2 pag.  
§ 5. vid. Ulp. in  
Dem. p. 240.

<sup>b</sup> Demost. p.  
445.  
<sup>c</sup> Vid. Dem.  
loco cit.

<sup>d</sup> Ἀρχηγεγορία  
Demosthen.  
Ulp. expounds  
διασκεψις.  
to report.

<sup>e</sup> Cont. Timocr.  
p. 446.  
<sup>f</sup> Demosth.  
p. 297.

which standing in a place conspicuous, that some certaine daies before the Sessions, any Citizen might read what was to be handled; and if any so pleased, he might at the proposall of the Law declare his mind either for, or against it, as at the preferring of a *Bill in our high Court of Parliament*, where it is not denied any *Burges*, or *Knight* of a shire, to speak his opinion *pro* or *con*, either with any whole Bill, or some part thereof, or in opposition to it, or some one clause. Provided likewise, that he, who attempted to enact a new Statute, should take care for the disanulling of the old, that might contradict it, otherwise he came within the compasse of *παρανομία*, a writ of *Transgression of the Lawes*: which was of two sorts. First, when time is not observed in writing them, *ἡμετέριον ὡς αὐτὸν χρόνον*. Next when one is made that adverse to a former. And if it so hapned, that any perswaded the people to make a Law that was not commodious to the weale publique, he might be questioned within a yeares space; but if the time was expired, he could not. Nay, they slew *Eudemus*, a *Cydiathenian*, for bringing in a Law they liked not; scarce different in that one example from the *Locri*, among whom, he that would propose a Law, should do it, his neck adorned with a halter, that if his request pleased not, he straight way powred out his soule under the hands of the hangman. Their Orators, which are called *δημαγωγοί*, because they lead the people with their Rhetorick and flattery, wrote Lawes and decrees, as we learn out of *Demosthenes*, and therefore are they deciphered by *Atheniensis*, *οἱ λέγοντες*.

*a* Vlp. in Dem. p. 297.  
*b* Dem. Orat. Arg. con. Lep. tineni.  
*c* Dem. p. 419.  
*d* Idem p. 468.  
Gellius l. 3. c. 13. If. Callistratus Athenis Orator fuit, quos illi *δημαγωγὸς* appellat. Livie Dec. 4. of Athens. ubi Oratio plerumque pollet, favore multitudinis alitur. Vlpian. *δημαγωγὸς ὁ δῆμον ἀρχων*. f Pag. 468. n. g Dipnos. l. 12.

C A P. II.

*De Comitibus. Κυβερὰ ὁ Σύνκλητος ἐκκλησία, &c.*

**T**He Assemblies were called by the *Prytaneis* foures times in five and thirty dayes. f In the first they confirmed

med the Magistrates in their offices, if all things were managed well by them, otherwise they put them out. They heard publique causes; looked into confiscate goods, and possessions left by inheritance. In the second, any one with leave might freely speak of private and publique affaires. In the third they gave audience to Ambassadors, who before ought to deliver their letters to the *Prytaneis*. In the fourth, they treated of holy things, such as belonged to their Gods and worship of them. The first meeting was the eleventh day of the *Prytanea*; the second the twentieth; the third the thirtieth; the fourth the three and thirtieth. I find a difference between the <sup>g</sup> Scholiast of *Aristophanes* and *Ulpian* in the daies on which they came together, one making the first day of the Moneth to be the day on which the first Assembly was, the other the eleventh of the *Prytanea*, which seems truest. And whereas they both write that every Moneth there were three lawful assemblies, to wit, on the first, tenth, thirtieth; or tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, we are not so to reckon them, but according to the *Prytanea*, it being the *Prytaneis* charge to congregate the people. They seem to have been called *Κυεῖαι Ἐκκλησίαι*, because in them they did *κυρεῖν ἑπιτάγματα*, establish decrees, as the <sup>a</sup> Scholiast of *Aristophanes*. Other assemblies there were which are termes <sup>b</sup> *συγκληται*, when war, or any sudden accident troubled the State, then the people were called together over and above those foure times in a *Prytanea*. They are styled *συγκληται*, because the people of their own accord met on the other daies; but when they would have a Convocation, some went about the City and called them. There is likewise <sup>c</sup> *κατακκλησία*, when they were summoned out of the fields to goe to the Assembly. It seems to me that the Crier in the streets on their lawful Assemblies gave some token when they should hasten; and so much <sup>d</sup> *Aristophanes* witnesses, bringing in the women speaking that it is high time to be stirring, because the Cryer—*δίδτερον κεκόκκηκεν*, had cryed the second time. And indeed need was there of some warning

<sup>g</sup> In Achar.  
pag. 371.

<sup>b</sup> In Dem. p.  
445.

<sup>a</sup> In Acharn.  
<sup>b</sup> Ulp. & Sch.  
Arist. loc. laud.

<sup>c</sup> Pol. p. 405

<sup>d</sup> In concionantib. p. 725.



warning, and compulsion too; for so slow were they in coming to assemblies, that the *Logistæ* were faine to throng them to the meetings, as the Schol. of *Aristophanes* on these words, *ε* In Achar. p. 406. *τῶν δ' ἡμαρτὰς ἐν Δεσφῶν*. Sometimes they took a rope, and dying it with red earth, they sent two slaves into the market place, who should one of the one side of the way, and the other of the opposite, pursue the people, and to whose chance it fell to be marked with the paint, paid a certaine peece of money. *f* *Aristoph. A-Chat. p. 371.* Hence in the *f* Comœdian—*Κάτω κ, καὶ τὸ τοῖνον φά' γ' αὖ τὸ ἀνωτέρω*. Up and down they shun the cord stained with Vermilion. And again—*ἡ μίλτ' ὃ δ' εἰλάται τέλων περὶ γὰρ ὡς περὶ ἑρρανον κίλ' αὖ*. *Jupiter*, the red earth which flew about made laughter. *g* Sometimes would they take Hurdles, *g* *Schol. Arist. loco laudato.* and barracado all the streets except those that led to the *Ecclesia*: Sometimes take away all their saleable wares which they brought into the Market, lest people intent on their traffique should absent themselves from the Assemblies. When they had met oft times the company would be dismissed at some prodigious signe, as thunder, lightning, tempest, and the like, which they called *h* *Διοτμήσις*: *i* and earthquakes, or on other occasions, deferring the Assemblies meeting until the next day. When they were come together, and the Senate ready to sit, one man Sacrificed; which rites were called *a* *Εἰσι. i* *Plut. pag. 386.* *θυσίαι*, because they were done at the entry of the Councel. *l. 7. & 384. l. 34.* *b* *Ulpian.* *προηγεῖται γὰρ εἰ σίσεως ὁ βαλὺς ὁ παρ' αὐτοῖς πιύμενος*. *I* *a* *Demosth. παρὰ 241.* will not justly say that it was the purification made with a young pig, before the bench was sate, and yet I may presume to averre it; the Grammarian that interprets *c* *Aristophanes* witnessing that immediatly preceding the Sessions this *c* *In Concione pag. 728. A.* custome was observed by one, whom they named *θεῖον ἄρχοντα*, from *θεῖον*, *τὸ καθαρίζον*, which signifies cleansing, because by that he purged the Assembly, Theater, and congresse of the people. After they were sate, *d* the Cryer did pray for the good of the people, *e* and cursed those who should offer to deceive the Senate or people. After this, he speaks with a lowd voice

f Alcidas  
Aristoph.p.  
372. Diod.  
Sic.l.15.  
g Demosth.p.  
29. Æschines  
contra Cref.  
initio.  
h Philippic.1.

i Plut p.552.  
L. 11.17.

voice, *ἢ τις ἀπαδείν βέλτεται*; Who will make a speech; where-  
upon one of the *g* Elders arose that gave his verdict, it being  
not permitted to any to utter his opinion, before the reverend  
hoary head had spent his judgment. Whence by *h* Demostho-  
nes they are stiled *οἱ εἰσδοῦτες*, those that were wont to orate.  
After they had finished their saying, others had leave to de-  
clare themselves. Neither must we omit the fashion they had  
to exclude all private men from their Assemblies sometimes,  
when the Senate alone sate, or the *Areopagitical* Council;  
sometimes to debarre all servants, strangers, and men depri-  
ved of their liberties from their convents, which at other  
times they admitted, and then was it called *ἡ ἀνοικία ἢ βήμα*  
*καὶ τὸ θεάτρον*, an open Theater to all commers. The place of  
meeting was called *πνύξ*, *Πνυξ*, ἀπὸ τοῦ πικρυᾶσαι αὐτὰς ἐν  
αὐτῇ; from the frequent concourse of people there. It stood on  
a rock, and therefore by *Aristophanes* is called *πέτρα*. 345. Sch.  
*ὄρεσιν δὲ ὡς*. There was a stipend for them that came to As-  
semblies, as you may see in *Demosth. contra Timoc.* And *οὐδὲ*  
*βοιωτὸν οὐδὲ ὀνόματ' αὐτῶν*. Because they might be at leasure without  
dammage. *Aristot. Pol. 1. c. 13.* They assembled also in *Pyræus*  
*Ulp. in Dem.*

### C A P. III. S E C T: I.

*De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primum de*  
*Senatu Πεντακοσίῳ.*

k Plut. Solone,  
p. 60. l. 31.

**W**Hen the mutinie between the faction of *Mega-*  
*cles* and *Cylo* disturbed the *Attick* Common-wealth,  
*Solon* perswaded the people that those, whom for their auda-  
citie in drawing away the suppliants from the Altars they  
named *εὐαγείς*, should undergoe judgment, there were cho-  
sen *k* three hundred men, *καὶ εἰς ἑκάστην*, according to their worth,  
to sit upon the case. But these were not a perpetual judicato-  
rie. For when the people murmured at the cutting off of the  
usury

usurie mony, then was the Grand Councell ordained; out of every Tribe, which were then but foure, an hundred chosen, who by their advice should direct the people in those things which were to be handled lest any thing should be inducted, or proposed to the Assembly without due consideration. Who from their office in a *Democracie*, *m* Aristotle sayes are more properly called *ἐπίβουλοι*, but where the Rount rules, *Βουλῆ*. But when *Cliftbenes*, who by *Plutarch* is termed *ὁ κατασκευάμενος τὴν πολιτείαν*, had augmented the number of the Tribes from four to ten, eighty six years after *Solon's* Laws were received, he made the number five hundred, taking fifty of every Tribe, which doubled tenne times make up the summe. This Councell by *Aristotle* is described *ἡ μάλιστα κυρία πάντων*. The *Magistresse* of all the rest, and I am not of opinion that *ἡ ἀρχὴ Βουλῆς* in *a* *Plutarch* is to be understood of the *Areopagus*, as if that were above the Senate, but as instituted first by *Solon*, and so related by the Author. And yet I know *b* one writes, *Tam dignitate, fuma, quàm officio, secundum post Areopagitas locum obtinuerunt*. To this Councell none was chosen under thirty years of age; which time is stiled *Βελδὸν πηλὴ ἡλικία* by *c* *Libanius*. And doubtlesse *d* *Plutarch* justifies it, speaking that *Demosthenes* wrote his Orations against *Androtio*, *Timocrates*, *Aristocrates*, *ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ δευροεληλυθώς*, when he had not attained to the managing of state businesse, because he wanted two or three of thirty years. Agreeing to this is *e* *Juncius*, who saies that *Solon* admitted none very young, though very wise to Magistracy or Councell. Nay the *f* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* tels us, that green heads were not permitted to speak publicly. The Law prohibiting any to attempt it under forty, or as some say (which is truest) thirty, on these words.

Καὶ γὰρ παρὲν ὅτ' ἴδ' ἐτ' ὤν, καὶ ἐξελὼ πῶ μοι τεκέειν.

Which to bee otherwise understood by some, is not hidden from me. They were called likewise *ἡλιασταί*, as well as *Πετανοχοί*, and their Tribunall *ἡλιαία*, from the word *g* *ἄλιζεσθαι*, which

*m* Polit. l. 6. c. 8.

*a* In Solone p. 63.

*b* Poslardus. false: for Paulanias calls it

*c* Libanius. *μίσεν*. in Att. p. 27. l. 15.

*d* In Arg. orat. cont. Androt.

*e* Vita decem Rhet. p. 378.

*f* Stobæus ferm. 112.

*g* In Nub. p. 157.

*g* Ulp. in De-mos. p. 445.



h Ulp. loc. lau-  
dato, vide &  
Aristoph. Sc.  
p. 436.  
i Pag. 486.

k Dem. Orat.  
cor. Tim.

which signifies to throng together, because the People were frequent there. But the more probable reason is, *h ἐκ τῆς ὥ-  
ραιον ἔδ' ὅ τ' ὅ περ καὶ τ' ἡλίου ἐκεῖ ἐνδον ἀναβάντων*, because the place  
was open and exposed to the Sunne. And in respect of this  
i *Aristophanes* makes that cold conceit branded by *Didymus*,  
*Εἰ ἢ κατ' ὄρθρον, ἡλιασὺς πρὸς Ἥλιον*, In the morning thou shalt  
ἡλιαζεν, in the Sun-shine. At their admission they had this  
Oath given them. k *Ἰνστιτούαι κατὰ τὰ νόμους, &c.* I will give  
Sentence according to the *Laws* and *Decrees* of the People of A-  
thens, and *Council* of Five hundred; I will not consent to be a  
*Tyrant*, or bring in an *Oligarchy*: Neither shall my approbation  
be to any that will dissolve the *Democracy* of Athens by *Speech* or  
*Decree*. I will not cut off private use, or suffer a division of the  
*Athenian Lands* or *Houses*. I will not bring back *exil'd Men*, or  
those that are condemned. I will not thrust out of the City any  
innocent against the *Laws* and *Statutes* of the Athenians and Se-  
nate of Five hundred: neither by my self, or suffer any other. I  
will not create a *Magistrate*, who hath not given an account of  
his former Office, whether of the nine *Archons*, or *Agents* for the  
*Holy things*, or they, who at the same day are chosen with the nine  
*Archons* by lot, *Ambassadors* and *Assistants*. Neither shall the  
same Man bear the same Office twice, or two in one Year. I will  
not take *Gifts* for *Judgement*, neither my self or other for me, or  
others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not younger then  
thirty. I will hear both Parties, the *Accuser* and *Defendant* alike.  
I will passe *Judgement* aright on the thing prosecuted. I Swear  
by *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Ceres*. \* There is also another Oath

† If I transgress which they took; some Clauses whereof, we have left in Re-  
any of these, let cord. To ratifie the *Laws* of *Solon*. *Plutarch* in *Solone*, pag.  
me and my house 62. To give *Counsel* for the best of the People. To advise accor-  
perish; but if I ding to the *Laws*. I will not binde any *Athenian* who shall give  
faithfully keep three *Sureties* of the same *Revenues*, unless for *Treason*, or he con-  
them according to my oath, let spire the subversion of *State Popular*, or buy *Custom*, or he en-  
us be happy and gaged, or gather publick *Money* and not pay it. I will sit in that  
prosperous. order which lot shall direct me to, I will not permit any unless ba-  
Dem. p. 470. nished

nished, to be accused or imprisoned for what is past. This last was made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants, when *Thrasibulus* gave them to Oath *μὴ μνησθῆναι*, not to remember ancient wrongs, which they call *ἀμνηστία*. The authority of this Council was great, for it handled causes of War, Tributes, making of Laws, civil businesses and events, affairs of Confederates, collections of Money, performance of sacred Rites, accounts of Offices discharged, appointing Keepers for Prisoners, and *δομωσία* of Orphans, as *Xenophon*. <sup>a</sup> Resembling our Court of Parliament in *England*, by whose consent all Laws are abrogated, new made, right and possessions of private men changed, forms of Religion established, Subsidies, Tails, Taxes, and Impositions appointed, Waights and Measures altered, &c. As not unlike also the *Venetian Gran Consiglio*, or Senate, of which the *Contarene*. <sup>d</sup> *Tutta la cura del Governo della Republica appartiene al Senato*, &c. The whole manner of the Common-wealths Government belongeth to the Senate. That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified and inviolable. By their Authority and Rule is Peace confirmed and War denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Commonwealth at their appointment collected and gathered in, and likewise laid out again and defrayed, &c. In a word, I may say of the Five hundred, as <sup>a</sup> *Budeus* of the Parliament of France: *Amplissimam eam curiam causarumque omne genus disceptatricem justam ac legitimam esse*, that that Court is most ample, and justly and equally decided all sorts of Controversies whatsoever. <sup>b</sup> To their Charge was committed the making of new Ships, for which at the Years end they were to be rewarded by the People. To this alludes <sup>c</sup> *Aristophanes*. *Ποδάρκῳ τὸ πλοῖον; ἔνθ' ἔθεν αἱ πηλείδης καὶ χαί.* *Ἐπ. Μὲν Ἡλέα πῶς;* <sup>d</sup> without their consent could the People do nought, as indeed they made not any thing *Sanctum* against the Peoples wills. Hence in <sup>e</sup> *Demosthenes*, *ἢ βέλῳ ποιήσας τὸ δέμῳ καὶ ἑαύτῳ.* In testimony of their preheminance are they termed <sup>g</sup> *Idem* *ἐκείνοι, ψήφῳ.* and *οἱ αὖτις κύριοι.* The Lords of Sentence. In

<sup>a</sup> Vide *Xeno.*  
<sup>in</sup> *Ἑλλῶ.*  
<sup>C. c. init.</sup> *Phil.*  
<sup>1.</sup> *Velleium*  
<sup>Paterculum.</sup> *l.*  
<sup>2.</sup> *p. 84. Arist.*  
<sup>Sch. in</sup> *πλ.*  
<sup>Æschin.</sup> *cont.*  
<sup>Ctesiph.</sup>  
<sup>b</sup> *Athen. Rep.*  
<sup>pag.</sup> *407.*  
<sup>See</sup> *Sir Tho:*  
<sup>Smith</sup> *in the*  
<sup>Common-wealths</sup>  
<sup>of</sup> *England.*  
<sup>d</sup> *As Eranchi-*  
<sup>rio Anditimi</sup>  
<sup>hath translated</sup>  
<sup>it.</sup> *lib. 3. fol.*  
<sup>34.</sup> *B.*  
<sup>a</sup> *In Pandect.*  
<sup>Prio.</sup> *p. 298.*  
<sup>b</sup> *Dem. p. 385.*  
<sup>c</sup> *Avib. p. 546.*  
<sup>d</sup> *Sch. Arist. p.*  
<sup>93.</sup>  
<sup>e</sup> *Pag. 234.*  
<sup>f</sup> *Demosth.*  
<sup>g</sup> *Idem* *xpi*  
<sup>Μειδία.</sup>

b Plut. in Ci-  
mone p. 356. l.  
50.

time of warre they would send Commissions to their Cap-  
tains, as they thought requisite. b Such as in the battaile be-  
tweene the *Lacedemonians* and their Countrymen in *Tana-*  
*gra*, where fearing lest *Cimon*, banished by *Ostracisme*, should  
betray them to the *Laconians*, they sent to the Commanders  
not to entertaine him in the Army. This honour was not  
during terme of life, but every yeare changed. *Apostolius*.

ἡ μὲν γὰρ πεντακοσία καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κληρομένην βυλάειν.

Which *Anonymus* in *Arg. Orat. contra Androt.* expresses by  
κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν διεξέρχεται. The manner of choosing them is this.

i Verbo Emmi-  
us in Descript.  
Reip. Athen.

i The chiefe of every Tribe, on an appointed day before the  
beginning of the Moneth *Hecatombæon*, brought the names  
of all their Tribe that were capable of this dignitie, and cast  
them written into a vessell, and into another they put an hun-  
dred white Beanes, and all the rest blacke; Then drawing  
out a Name, and then a Beane, to whose chance the white  
Beane fell to be extracted with his Name, was designed Sena-  
tor. This they did when they had but foure Tribes, and so  
foure hundred Senatours. But when they had tenne Tribes  
there could bee but fifty white Beanes, to the making up of  
the tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the ele-  
ction observed by the *k Venetians* upon the fourth day of *De-*  
*cember*, when the names of all the young men that have not  
by lot obtained the right of Citizens, nor passed twenty five  
yeares old, are put into a pot, and carryed unto the Prince, and  
there the same set before the Councillors, with which there  
is another pot, wherein are round balls equall with the num-  
ber of the names written in the first, every one having his  
markes: the fift part of these balls is gilded with gold, the rest  
with silver. The Prince taketh out of the first pot the ball,  
which if it be of the golden sort, the young man whose name  
is drawne, is presently admitted to publique authority; they  
to whom the silver chance, lose it for that time, expecting it  
the ensuing year, unlesse in the meane space they accomplish  
twenty five, at which age all the young Noble men partake  
of

k Contaren.  
l. i. fol. 11. b.



of the Cities liberties. So every yeare the fift part of the yon-  
kers is chosen to give voice with the other Citizens. The use  
in choosing I deem the same, and shall untill I find authentike  
Writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by  
*Cliftenes* according to their Tribes, so by his successors. For  
when they added two, the number was encreased an hundred,  
by reason of the Tribes *Antigonis* and *Demetrias*, after named  
*Attalis* and *Ptolemais* in honour to the Kings of that name  
which were Benefactours to the State; *a* ὅταν κ' ἡ βελὴ πεντα-

*a* Stephanus

ᾠδ. πολ.

*b* Arist. Schol.

P. 37.

*b* Out of these were their Jud-  
ges chosen; but such as were about threescore years old. For  
although juniors were admitted into this company, yet none  
judged under that age. *c* ἑστῆρχοντο μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐκ ἐξι-

*c* To these was any businesse referred, of which the  
Senate and people were in suspense what to determine. *c* *A-*

*ristoph.* Εἰσι δ' ἡ Βελὴ χ' ὅ δ' ἡμ' ὅταν κρίναι μέγα πρᾶγμα, *c* *σπέρη* - 471.

*c* *Εἰς τοὺς καὶ ἀδικούντας τοῖσι δικασταῖς παραδόντων.* When the  
Councell and people are in doubt how to judge a great mat-

ter, They decree to deliver over the guilty to the Judges. And  
no marvell. For the office of a Judge is *κρίνον κίνεον*, preroga-

tive in sentence, sayes *d* *Aristotle*, that is, to state those Que-  
stions which the Law hath not decided. The order of their gi-

ving sentence before the third yeare of the ninety second O-  
lympiad I know not. Afterwards they sate by turne in their

own Tribes, every one as his lot fell. For there being former-  
ly tenne Tribes in *Athens*, they chose out of each five men, and

to which one of them the chance happened, he sate Judge. I  
cannot say that the manner of Election was like that of the

*e* *Syracusans* concerning the Priest of *Jupiter*, who taking the  
names of so many as were nominated, and casting them into

a pot, created him whose name should be first drawn, of that  
sacred Function. But of our own must I speake. *f* When then

they were appointed, they met, every of them bringing with  
him a Table and a Wand on which was written a Letter that

did betoken some Judicatory ( For there being ten Tribunals  
every

*d* Pol. 1.3. c. 13.

ᾠδ. ὅταν ὀνέμθ

ἀφωατέι διο-

ρίζειν.

*e* Cic. in Ver-

rem. Act. 3.

*f* Aristophan.

πλ. p. 30.

every one of them was noted with a red Letter, A, B, Γ, Δ, Ε, &c. to Κ. over the door) time calling them to sit, they drew lots, and he to whom A was taken out, sate in the Court noted with A, and B with B, and so to K. This done, they shewed their lot to the *Præco* of the Judicatory, who gave them their Wand and Table. This they did, lest any should rashly attempt to sit, and pervert Justice. I know not whether I may better call that Rod of Authority a wand or staff: because that *g* Βικτωρία καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ τριβώνιον ἢ τριβόλον, was a Proverb used in division of the Judges. *b* This staff at the days end they brought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages; But the *a* Scholiast teaches us otherways, saying, that the *Demagôgi* paid them, it being manifest out of *Cleon's* Words the Oratour, Ωλέοντες Ηλιασταί, οὐδ' ἴσμεν τριβόλου, Οὐδ' ἐγὼ βόσκω— *Judges which I feed.* Their pay was not always the same, ἐχ' ἴσατο, *b* says the Interpreter of *Aristophanes*. First, they had *obolum*, which *Calistratus*, surnamed *Parnytes*, was Author of. Hence the Proverb *c* ὀβολὸν ἄρ' ἐπ' Πάρνυτος. Afterwards it was augmented by *Callicrates*, and from him grew the word *καμικράτης*, it may be for a pretty sum of money. Nay it changed, for now I read of ὀβολὸς Ηλιαστικός one, and anon τριβόλον three, *a* *e* *Drachme* to two. And therefore may we conclude that it was sometime more, sometimes less. Thus having spoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their cases of Law, in which I shall adde.

When any had received wrong in *Athens*, it was their custom to make their cases known to a Magistrate, whose office it was to report to the Judicatory. And this they did by a Table, in which it was written, *f* Κατηγορῶ τῷδε καὶ προσδίκησαι τῷδε διὰ τοῦδε εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. *I accuse H. B. and cite him to the Court by W. N.* not unlike the *Romans* proceeding, who brought the name of the delinquent to the Magistrate before the accusation; to which *g* *Plautus* alludes. *Ibo ego ad tres viros vestraque ibi nomina Faxo erunt*— when this Note was given up, the Magistrate asked the Plaintiff, whether he had witnesses

*g* Suidas pro-  
verb.

*b* Sch. Aristop.  
πλ. 30.

*a* In Equites.  
pag. 301.

*b* In Nubes pag  
174.

*c* Appendix  
Vaticana.  
*d* Zenobius.

*e* Sch. Aristop.  
pag. 487.

*f* Vlp. in Dem.  
P. 343.

*g* Afinaria  
Act. 1. p. 54.

witnesſes, and would proſecute the matter, who anſwering that he intended it, had thereupon Authority to ſummon the Defendant to his appearance; and this he did either by himſelf, or other, called therefore κλητὴρ, *h* for κλητοῖς is ἡ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, a bringing into ſuit. καλὺν γὰρ εἰς δικαστήρια. The

word ſignifies a witneſs alſo. For when they warned any to the Tribunal, they bad any that ſtood by to teſtifie that they had admoniſhed them. ἡ κλητὴρ δὲ ἐκ καλῶντες εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον πάντας σπουδαίους ἢ ἀξιόχρους καὶ τὰ μαύρα. You may uſe κλητὴρ for

an Apparator, Sergeant, Bailiff, or the like. Sometimes they would run ſtreight to the Court, as it were headlong, in

*Demosthenes* his phraſe, ſometimes the Suiter would forthwith draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may ſee out of *Aristophanes*. Καθ' ἑλκον αὐτὸν. But if the

party could put in two ἀξιόχρους, ſufficient to Bail, he was diſmiſſed. Hence in the *m* Comœdian. Αλλ' ἐγγυητὰς σικαταστή-  
σα δὲ ἀξιόχρους. I will procure thee a couple of able Sureties.

Sometimes they would appoint a day of appearance, that might be a Week or more, after the *vocationem in ius*, at which time, if the Defendant were not perſonally at the

Judgement-ſeat, he came within compaſs of ἐρήμια, a Writ of *Ermodicium*, refusal to come in and anſwer, Which was avoided by ſuing for a μὴ ἔσα in tenne days after. For when

the party to defend was abſent, he was condemned *indictâ causâ*, ſo *a Budæus* expounds ἐξ ἐρήμιας καταδικαζώμαι, by this

therefore the caſe was renewed, and ſtood as at firſt, the Sentence that before paſt, being made of no force; and for this was it termed μὴ ἔσα, ὅτι πρῶτον δοκῶσα εἶναι καὶ κακωδῶν, ὅτε ἐν εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι, because in the beginning it ſeemed to carry ſome power, but at laſt was nothing. The buſineſſe then

made anew, the party that was caſt by an ἐρήμια, after that he had obtained a μὴ ἔσα, was *c* within two Moneths to ſet the

Law on foot, which they term ἀνπλαχεῖν δίκην, or elſe the ſentence given before was ratified. Whoſoever ſhould offer to call any man to the Court, unleſſe upon good grounds, was

liable

*h* Sch. Arist.  
190.

*i* Sch. Arist.  
P. 442.

*h* ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ  
εἰς τὸ δικαστή-  
ριον βαδίζειν.  
P. 596. n. 17.  
*l* In Vespis  
pag. 487.  
*m* Arist. Con-  
cio. p. 755.

*a* In prioris  
& Poſt. No. ad  
Pand.  
*b* Vlp. in Dem.  
P. 343.

*c* Pollux. l. 8.  
P. 390.



d You have a  
form of this in  
Demosth. p. 628.  
e Arist. Nub.  
p. 154 v. Sch.  
f Demost. p. 716.  
n. 7.

g Arist. Schol.  
v. 170.

h Unum contra  
Stephan. ἰδὲ δ.  
a. p. 622. aliud  
p. 624. 629.  
i Sch. Arist.  
Vesp. 505.  
k In Vesp. p.  
467. 505.  
l In Vesp. p.  
504.  
m Sch. Arist.  
239.  
n Idem p. 195.  
o Demosth.  
622. n. 33.  
629. n. 80.  
640. n. 2.  
655. n. 65.  
665. n. 66.  
p Charact.  
ὡς ἰσχυροί. p. 2.

liable to ἰδὲ δὲ κληθεῖαι δίκην, a Writ of molestation for a false cause. Having thus farre proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libell, which held contents of his action, and the summe of the Defendants answer. This the Greeks call ἀντιγραφὴν, *Antigraphen*. Though I know also, that all cases in Law were termed ἐπαγγέλματα, καὶ ἀντιγραφαί. They tooke this course because the Defendant might know what to answer. And because it was ordinary in *Athens* for knaves to accuse out of envy, which is συκοφαντία, they made a Law, that whosoever accused and had not the fift part of the voices, should be fined a thousand Drachmes. And he that could not prove his objections was also punished in the purse a certaine summe, g which if he paid not at the constituted time, was fourfold; and if his abilitie reached not so farre, he suffered imprisonment. At the presenting of the *Antigraphē*, testimonies were also delivered (formes of which you shall often meet with in h *Demosthenes*) and a copy of an Oath which the Suiter gave, in these words ἰ Τάλῃθῃ κατηγόρησιν, that he would justly accuse. Τάλῃθῃ ἀπολογήσασθαι, that he would according to Truth make his Apologie: and this they name καὶ αὐτοουσίαν. These writings were cast into a certaine coffer, forth comming as occasion should require: All which l *Aristophanes* in one verse comprehends. ἀντιουσίαι καὶ προσκλήσεις καὶ μαρτυρίαι Σωκράτους. They joyned or put together oathes, citations, and testimonies. I so interpret it against the Scholiasts minde, who will have προσκλήσεις to be Exhortations given to the Plaintiffe and Defendant to come to composition. But I know that m προσκα- λείδω, is κατηγόρειν, εἰς ἑλκεν, to accuse, εἰς δικαστήριον, in jus ra- pere, n and προσκαλήσασθαι, διαμαρτύρων ἀποχρῆσθαι. The chest or coffer was called ἐχίνος; and of this are the words of the Greek Oratours to be understood ο εἰς ἐχίνον βάλλειν. p *Theophrastus* of a mad man that would entangle himselfe in any thing, ἐχίνον ἐν τῷ προσκολλῆναι, καὶ ὁρμαδὲς γεγραμμένον ἐν τῷ χερσίν. Having an *Echinus* in his lappe, and a bundle of libels in his hands. *Pollux* makes a different exposition of this oath from that

that which other Grammarians do, confounding, as is most probable, the *πρωμοσία* & *δίκημοσία* with *δωμοσία*. For *πρωμοσία* is that first oath which the Plaintiff gave to prosecute the party prosecuted to answer, which on the defendants side was called *ἐντομοσία*, and generally on both *Δωμοσία* was a Sacrament taken by both, the impleader that he did *α πρὸς αὐτὰ δίκην*, follow the delinquent in law: the defendant *ὅς ἐκ ἐπὶ πρὸς ἐν ποδὶ δίκην*, to stand stiffly to it that he did not trespass. And yet *dVlpian* makes both these one, after this were they that sued on another admitted to the Judicatory it being first demanded of the suiter *c* whether he would *persequi*, follow the suit, and had sufficient witness for evidence; in causes capitall it was asked if there were need of any who could not then be present. This interrogation was termed *d Ανεισις*. If then any thing was deficient the judgment was prorogued by an *e δωμοσία* or oath, which the Plaintiff took, that for the present he could not perform it, but certainly would. *f* Perhaps for that time pretending sickness, death of friends. or some urgent necessity, on which their fortunes might depend when then all things were ready, & at hand they proceeded towards the Tribunal, the Judges first swearing *g* that they would give sentence according to the Lawes, & in those things concerning which there were noe Laws, according to conscience and equity (which the greeks call *γνώμην δικαιοσύνης*) *h* and of those things only concerning which they did debate. This oath seemes to have beene taken at the Alter, from whence they brought their little stones ( of these by and by) with which they gave sentence. *i* *Plutarch* *ἡθρον ὑπὸ βωμῷ προεβν- τει* The oath is called *ἀμφοτερία*. Then went the Judges to their seates *k* neatly spread with mats in Greek *ψιθά* and *ψιάδι*, and all others being warned by the *Præco*, to goe without the bars in this form *λυτράσντε ἔξω* they sate down for we must know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were environed in, as the *Romanes*, with lettice I suppose, by them

*a* Schol. Ari-  
stoph. Vesp.  
505.

*q* In Demost.  
p. 287.

*c* Vide Vlpian in Dem.  
pp. 347. 341.

*d* Bud, in An-  
not. Rel. ad  
Pan. p. 348.

*e* Vlpian in  
Demp. p. 226.

*the Scho. of*  
Aristoph,  
*Make it the*  
*same with*  
*ἐπρωμοσία.*

*πλ. p. 75.*

*f* Vlpian. in  
Demost. 341.

*g* Pollux. l. 8.  
pag. 406,

*h* Dem. pag.  
628,

*i* Pag. 122.

*k* Aristoph.  
Sch. p. 239.

*l* Demosth.

*m* Pollux lib.  
8 p. 407.

*n* Pollux loco  
citato.

*This is*  
*δειχόνισμα*  
Pollux.

*p* Pag. 485.  
*a* Plutarch. in  
Vira.

*b* Aristoph.  
pag. 494.  
*c* Aristoph.  
Sch. Ibid.

*d* *πρὸς πυν-*  
*ταίνετον*. p.  
567.  
*e* Boemus De  
Costhumi del  
le Genti lib.  
1. cap. 5.

\* Arist Rhet.  
l. 1. c. 33.  
*f* Stmat. 1.  
pag. 10226.  
*g* In Bruto.

called *m* *καγγωταί* Cancellatæ, by the Greekes *καγκλίς*,  
though *κιγλίς* more properly signifies the doer of the *δ-*  
*καταλείν* before which was *o* a rope of 50 feet length drawn,  
and publique servants set, that none might enter, but who  
had business. The partition I think was but weak, & there-  
fore by Demosthenes called *ἀδελφὴς κιγκλῖς*. Within which  
none was permitted to come but the Judges. And therefore  
when *a* Demosthenes did long to hear Callistratus plead con-  
cerning Oropus, he over entreated his *Prædagogue* that he  
would bring him, where he might have the happiness to  
be an auditor. The *Prædagogue* therefore acquainted with the  
publique officers that opened the doores, *τὸν ὀρίζοντα τὸ*  
*δικαστήριον δημοσίῳ* procured him a place where he might  
hear and not be seen, *ὅν τῃ καθήμενῃ ἀδελφῇ ἀκούσθαι*. When  
the Judges had gone within the bars, lest any should be  
wanting the *Prætor* cried *b* *Ἐἰ τις θύρασιν Ἡλιασῆς, οἰσίου*, if  
any Judge be without the doore of the place of Judgment,  
let him enter. *c* Because if any came after the case began to  
be pleaded he could not have admission. Being then seated  
the Crier read the inditement, *ἡγκημα* (a copy of some part  
of which you have in *d* Demosthen. ΕΒΛΑΨΕ ΝΙΚΟΒΛΑΟΣ  
ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΑΣΕΜΟΙ; &c (in which according to the cus-  
tome of *e* the old Egyptians; were given up to the court in  
writing all the reasons of accusation, the wrong received &  
the manner of it, with an estimation of the damage; The  
severall heads of which the Judges wrote downe, lest the  
Impleader and defendant should swerve from what they  
had in hand. The stood up the Suiter in a pulpit on the left  
hand of the Tribunall, & spake an accusatory oration, made  
for the most part by some of the Attick Oratours: which use  
brought in by \* Antiphon the Rhamnusian; *f* Clemens of A-  
lexandria calls *δικανκὲς λόγους εἰς ἕκαστον γράφειν* *g* Cicero,  
*scribere aliis causas; quibus in judiciis uteretur*, such as Lysias  
is reported to have done for Socrates: Which lest it should  
exceed in length, was limited to a certaine time, by a vessell,  
in



in the bottome of which was a small hole for water to run  
as sand doth in our houer-glasses, thence called κλέψυδρα  
into which was poured an equall measure of water; & least  
there should be deceit, there was an officer made for that  
purpose named ὁ ἐρύδης, ὁ παρακλητῶν ἢ ἰσότης ἢ Κλε-  
ψύδης filling alike for the Impleader and answerer. i when  
therefore the glasse was runne, it was not lawfull for them  
to speake farther. & nay for scantnes of time they were cō-  
pelled to passe by many things; & for that reason were they  
chary of their water, bidding that it should be stoped at the  
reciting of Lawes, or the like, which Demosthenes intimates  
in Σὺ δ' ἐπὶ λαβε τὸ ὕδωρ ὡς εἶνα ἀπὸ λαμῶναι is to stop the nose  
in l Aristophanes. m Apuleius. At tu interea dum legit, a-  
quam sustine. Pancirollus. Ne si aqua interim effluxisset, am-  
plius sibi dicendi præbita foret facultas, least he might not  
have leave to speake any more, if the water were spent if any  
would give way to another to speake while this glasse was  
runing he might which Dem. testifies, ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι λαλῶ  
But if he would not permit it; he bad the Præco cast it forth  
αὐτὸς τὸ ὕδωρ. Ulpian. Τὸ ἐν τῇ Κελευθῇ, Frō which kind of  
pleading it grew into a proverb ὁ κλέψυδρος c Cicero  
ad clesydram, to speake by the houre or allotted time. His  
speech being ended, he sate down. d The defendant then  
sitting all that while over against him, untill he had finished  
after addressed himself to his answer which he made from  
the right hand of the Judicatory; where he had a pulpit, &  
station; For this reason saies Aristotle, because they would  
make both parties equall, For the Suiter having the better  
part, they gave the uper hand to the defendant. Or because  
ὁ ἐρύδης or defendāts, were for the most part in custody;  
If therefore the guard stood on the right hand, the defendāt  
stood there also, Thence then he pleaded for himselfe, in  
which plea, he was only to wipe out those accusatiōs which  
his adversary laid against him, ἡμῶν κατηγορεῖντων λύσειν  
παῖν, & in that had the plaintiff a prerogative for he might

b Pollux l: 8.

p. 404.

i Vlpian. in

Dem. p. 356.

k Demosth.

πρὸς Βοιωτ.

p. 589:

l In Pluto.

m Apologia.

a Demosth.

ὑπὲρ πορμ.

b Aristoph.

pag. 617.

c Tuc. Qu.

l. 2. in fine.

d Vlpian in

Dem. 226.

e Problem.

πρὸς Δικαιο

σύλλω καὶ ἀ-

δικίας.

f Vlpian in

Demosth. p.

52.

g Loco lau-  
dato.

h Demosth.  
219.

i Clemens  
Aland. These  
had certain  
pettifoggers  
under them,  
that admini-  
stred the  
Laws and  
forms of a-  
cton. Cicero  
apud Græcos  
in fimi homi-  
nes mercedu-  
lâ adducti mi-  
nistros se  
prebent in  
judiciis Ora-  
toribus iis,  
qui apud illos  
πρωματικοί  
vöcantur.

k Cornéliana  
Vide at Atti-  
cum. l. i. c. 13.  
l Vid' e Laer-  
tium in vita  
ejus,

object what he would; nay and as g Aristotle, forecast al be-  
fore he commenced his suit. & feigned to himselfe what he  
pleased; the defendant, perhaps innocent, was at that instant  
to clear himselfe, h either by witnesse, or probabilities, of  
all doubts whatsoever the plantif could cast in. Sometimes  
the plaintif and Defeudant would desire Advocates of the  
Judges Συνηγόροις, hence i ἐν μὲν ὁ Συνηγόρειν to plead for a  
fee. In the time of their pleading, witnesse were called,  
who came in, and gave their testimonies; and after they had  
uttered what they had to say; they went to the Altar (as it  
seemes to me, either in, or very nigh the Judicatory) and  
swore. k Cicero. *Antbenis aiunt cum quidam apud eos sanctè  
graviterque vixisset, & testimonium dixisset publicè, & ut mos  
Græcorum est: jurandi causa ad aras accederet, una voce omnes  
Judices, ne is juraret, reclamasse.* They report that in Athens  
wh. n a certaine man (l Xenocrates) who had lived Godly &  
gravely among them, had given witnesse and as the fashion  
of the Greeks is, approached to the Alter to take oath, all  
the Judges with one voice cried: that he should not. They  
would not it seemes, have belief rather be bound with re-  
ligion then truth. ) Fit to this is the answer of Periclesto a  
friend of his desiring him μαρτυρεῖν ψευδῆς to testify a lye;  
which he was to avouche with an oath, I am your friend,  
quoth he, to the Alter, that is as farre as conscience, religi-  
on and honesty shall permit; hence ἀχρεῖ θυμὸς φιλῶ. id usq;  
ad Aras, grew I suppose to be a proverb. Plut. *Apophth. p.*  
112. Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I  
cannot justly say; in delivering their testimonies they were  
wont to touch the tips of the eare ( for reason to me un-  
known; ) called λογοί from λαμβάνειν. Etymologicon; (But I  
rather may suppose it to be a Roman fashion, where the  
Plaintif was wont to pluck his witnesse by the eare, for re-  
membrance sake. Horace lib. i. Sat. 9. Licet attestari? ego ve-  
ro oppono auriculam. To which Virgill looked, saing Cyn-  
thius aurem vellet & admonuit. *Ælag. 6.* ) and at the end  
thereof

hereof with all destruction to themselves and house if they dealt fallly. Which if they did, they were subject to a writ  $\psi\delta\delta\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\epsilon\iota\omega\upsilon$ , of falie witnesse, and he that suborned them  $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon\chi\upsilon\iota\omega\upsilon$ . Sometimes the witnesse was not present at the doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear-say, which the Greek Lawyers term  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta$ , as  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\omega\upsilon$  whē they take it from those that are dead which went for currant and was allowable: But to bring a testimony from the mouth of one that was alive and within the territories of Athens, it would not passe. As neither theirs who were discarded the liberties of the City,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\mu\omicron\iota$ ; or servants, or any man in his owne cause. a The manner of witnesse was twofold, either by personall appearance & testifying  $\omega\pi\omicron\pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$  and then he was called  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\upsilon\varsigma$ , in no case lyable to the Law,  $\omega\pi\omicron\delta\iota\kappa\omicron$ : or else by writing, by which he offered himselfe to his questions or attachments in law, against whom he witnessed, if he were not true; and this is  $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ . Both parties being heard & the altercation ceased the *Preco* cried, *To whom E. N. hath seemed to violate right*, (so they interpret  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \text{jus violare}$ ) *let him cast in the black stone, or hollow, to whom he seemeth not the whole or white*. For we must know that anciēdly the Greekes gave their sentences with black and white pebles, called  $\beta\chi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota$  (which the French semblably terme *Porcellanes*  $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\omicron$  *porcus*) *Ovid*

m Demosth.  
pp. 619. 634.

a Vlpian in  
Demosth.  
238.

b Aristoph.  
438.  
c Metamorph  
15. F. 1.

*Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisque Lapillis:*

*His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa.*

The antique fashion was with white stones to absolve, with black to condemne the accused. Pertinent to which is the saying of *Alcibiades*, when he was called out of *Sicilie* to go home and answer for his life, counting it foolish to goe thither, whence he was never like to escape; when one asked  $\acute{\alpha}\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\delta\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \pi\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\epsilon\ \kappa\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ ; Wilt thou not trust thy country which begat thee to be thy judg?  $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\ \tau\eta\ \mu\eta\tau\epsilon\iota$ .  $\delta$  quoth he  $\delta\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\ \gamma\omicron\delta\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\upsilon\omicron\theta\omicron\upsilon\pi\alpha\ \epsilon\ \sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha\ \tau\tilde{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\iota\upsilon\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\eta\varsigma\ \psi\eta\rho\omicron\nu$  No not her that brought

Ælion. Var.  
lib. 13 c. 38  
Plut. Mor. p.  
me 140.



e In Naz.  
Stelit. 15.

f Pagina 290.  
g Lyfistrata.  
p. 870.

h Polux. l. 8.  
pag 407.  
Ulpian. in  
Dem. 470.  
i Ulpian in  
Dem p. 162.

a Aristoph.  
585.  
b Pag, 263.

c Pag. 439.  
vide Scholaist  
d Aristoph.  
Vespis 500.

me forth. For I fear least shee being ignorant, and not conceiving the truth, mistake the black for the whitestone. The black made *tristem sententiam*, and was so named; the sad sentence; the white *candidam* or acquiting. They used likewise black & white beans; in respect of which *Pythagoras* is thought to have spoke at a riddle *κυάμους μὴ ἐσθίειν* not to eat beans, by, *e Nonnus* interpreted *μὴ περὶ δίδοντα τὸ δίκαιον δωρεᾷ καὶ ἰδὺς χρήματα* Not to undermine justice with bribes or that men should get by the perverting of equity. I see no reason, but that I may think he means men ought not to be too forward in getting places of Judgment. For *f κυάμοι τρώζ* in *Aristoph.* is by the Scholaist expounded *δικόνης, & g κυάμους τρώζων* is used for a Judge, which properly signifies an eater of beanes. But afterwarde they had little pellets of brasse; The bloody ones of them were peirced through, therefore termed, *h τετραπυημένοι*: the saving were whole, *α̃ τετραπυοι*. Of these every one took, of each one from the Altar, as I have said, *i* where laying their hands upon the *ψήφους*, or bals they intimated by a transposition of them (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black again) that they would not for envy or by respects, but indifferently & truly judge. When then they were ready to passe sentence at the *Præco* caried about the *Κάδλον* or *Καδίσκον*, a certain pitcher (for so *Xenophon* calles it, *υ̃δρεια*) having on the mouth of it a conveiance like a Tunnell, named *κημὶς*, but the top thereof was covered close, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for avoiding of deceit, I suppose, least one man might cast in more; & therefore were they to touch the *ψήφον* only with their forefinger, middle, and thumb. *c Aristop.* *Τὰς τρεῖς λευκῶν καὶ μακρύλων, ἀνίστα.* But we must know that the black and white pellets were not promiscuously cast into one pot, but two; *d* The one which freed was made of brasse called *πρότερον* whether because the first threw into it their voices, or because it may signify the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being  
woodden

wooden ἵστῃς. After the Crier had gon round with both, because some would keep their bals & for favour not give their voice against a friend or great person, therefore he cried *εἰ τίς ἀψήρις*; ἀνίστασθαι who hath not cast in his ball? Let him rise. So he rose and threw it in. Then they took them out & numbered them and in matter of lands, mony or the like, whose vessell (for there were as many set as the number of the litigants came to) had most; got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magistrate stood by with a rod, & laid it over those that were told, least they should mistake the one for the other or wittingly doe it. For so were they wont to doe; thence named *ψηφοκλέπται*. Which *g* Tucer objects to Menelaus about Ajax, when by his deceit the armour was given to Ulysses; & therefore he calls him *κλέπτην ψηφοποιόν*. Sch. δῖλιον κειτῶ; not amisse *ψηφοκλέπτῃ*. When the number was known, if the white or solid bals were more, they took their tables, which they had in their hands and drew a short line, as a token of absolution; if the black or hollow were more; they drew a longer line as condemning. Hence *ἰ ἀπασὶ πῦλιν μακρὰν*, may be used, for to condemne every body. The thing it selfe they termed *κἀλονίζειν* as *Aristophanes*. By this the one party being overthrown (as none ever was without the sentence of the Judges) his adversary wrote down what dammages he should pay, which they terme *ἐπιγράφειν*. *m* Plutarch δέκατακὰν πείρημα ἐκείνη τὴν δίκαν ἐπιγραφάμενον. For it was a use of old for those that went to law to make agreements I know not whether by oath, for they did swear by three Gods *Ἰκίσιον Καθάρσιον, Εξακισήκειον* and put it into the *Echinus*, that they would stand to such and such conditions, before sentence, that he that was cast should undergoe somewhat; & afterwards *ἐπιγράφειν*, that is, set down what los of limbs or life or means &c. for although they did *οὐνεχὺ ἐδίδου* give their estates as pledges to answer and meet at the Court; yet it may be that may be lesse or more then the fine. There was in

*e* Aristophi Vespis.

*f* Schol. Naz. in 511.

*g* Sophocles Ajacc. p. 68.

*h* Schol. Arist. 438.

*i* Aristoph. Vesp loco. cit.

*k* Pag. 491.

*l* Aristoph p. 472.

*m* βίσις ῥη.

p. 454.

*n* Schol. Arist. in 101 pag.

50.

*o* Schol. Arist. 740.

*a* Contaren:  
de Rep. Ven:  
lib: 3:

*b* Apolog:  
Socr: p: 265.  
*c* De Orat: 1.  
fol. 61. b.

*d* Laertius in  
Socrat. p. 115

*e* Pag. 436.

*f* Pag. 430.

*g* Pag. 338.

*h* Aristoph. p.  
244.

*i* Probl. 7<sup>μη</sup>.  
κθ.

in causes capital an other proceeding, like to that in the City of *Venice*; where they gave two sentēces. In the first they determined whether they should condemne or free: If in the first he was condemned, the manner of punishment was ordained in the second. But if in the first they found no cause of death, they bad the accused to fine himselfe, which *d Xenophon* intimates by ὑπομᾶν, & if it were too little the Judges doubtlesse made it more, as the *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes*; if I forget not: The custome is set down by *c Cicero*, speaking of *Socrates*: *Ergo ille quoq; damnatus est &c.* And he too was condemned; not only by the first suffrages, but also by those which by the appointment of the Laws they were to give the second time. For in *Athens* the accused being found guilty if the offence were capitall, they weighed and considered the penalty. When the sentence was to be given by the Judges they asked the defendant, what he thought himself to have deserved to forfeit, &c. (In the *Venetian* Common-wealth this is not observed.) In tryall if there be more for the prisoners liberty, the against him, he is streight acquitted, but if more then half be in the pot of condemnation he suffers. *d Socrates* at the first had two hundred eighty and one more against him, then on his side; & at the next eighty more were added to the former, so in all he had three hundred threescore & one condemnatory suffrages. But fewer might have done as much. For we read in the *Demobestnes* of *Cimon* like to punished with death ὅτι τῆς μὲν ψῆφου, if there had not been wanting. And againe τῆς δὲ μόνου ψῆφου διώσγαν τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ τιμῆσαι. Nay one was sufficient, *g Demosthene*. Μία μόνον ἀλῶναι ψήφῳ. But *Ulpian* on the place ὅτι μικρὸν δίδοναι τιμωρίαν, saies that he was lightly punnished. *h* If the voices were equall, then was the prisoner loosed; because sometimes he might be accused upon suspicion; or of those things which he did not willingly commit, or perhaps was sued out of envy, and many other reasons given by *Aristotle*: therefore did the Lawgiver leave



leave some place for pitty and compassion. To which the Judges were often moved. And therefore would they plead the k deserts of their ancelsters; their own lives formerly wel- led. / Sometimes shewed they their wounds; and brought the venerable gray haire of their parents, but m mothers chiefly, to intercede in silence: Sometimes embracing their children in their armes, they held them up in the Judges view: or caused them to a come up into the βήμα, or pulpit, & supplicate with teares: which wrought so much upon the Judges, that b Aristophan: in a scoff presents one δαμνίου, drowning his sentence in weeping. Then in c compunction would the Iudges speak to the prisoner, c Κατά- βα, Κατάβα, wishing him to go down from the βήμα, a token often of mercy; though now and then it proved otherwise. Nay it was a word of displeasure too, as when d Plato would have been Advocate for Socrates. Νεότατος δὲ ἄνδρες Ἀθην- αῖοι ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα ἀναβάντων, they thundred out, καταβάντων· αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τὴν κατάβην. Neither may I forget e Amynias the brother of Eschylus the Tragædian, who, when the people would have stoned his brother for some impiety brought on the stage, held up his elbow and arme without a hand lost in the fight at Salamis: by which spectacle the Iudges calling to mind the merit of Amynias, dismissed the Poet. Neither may I omit what f Xenophon objects to them, that they cared not so much for justice, as regarded what might conduce most to their own profit, and be convenient: g And that they condemned innocents, and spared offenders that could speak well. Furthermore another fault of theirs was the prolonging of cases a whole year, saies h Xenophon, and Aristophan: s. Αἰὲν ἔχει νῦν τὰς ὑποθέσεις τεταῖς· εἰς ἅρῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ ἀναβεβλήμεθα. Now we do not handle suits of above three- score years, but we are put off untill the next day. Τὰς ἐν δὲ ἐκαστῇ ἐκ δικάζοντο. For we come to trial within twenty yeares. This Xenophon imputes to the multitude of their imployments. As long as the case hung in suspense, the name of

Q

the

k Dem. p. 492.  
l Aristid. T. 3.  
p. 292.  
m Dem. p. 493.  
n Aristid. loco cin. πικρὰ  
ἀναβιβάζει  
μυόν.  
a Aristop. pp. 469. 499.  
b Vesp. p. 499.  
c Sch. Ar. 500.  
d Laert. Socr. P. 115.  
e Ælian Var. Hist. l. 5. c. 19.  
f Athen. Rep.  
g Apol. Socr. initio.  
h Athen. Rep. 406.  
g Εκκλησιας.  
752 753.  
They are tran-  
slated foolish-  
ly into latine.  
εἰς αὐτῇ  
is what the  
Proctours in  
the Civil Law  
usually mean  
by in proxi-  
mum, in proxi-  
mum.

\* Budæus in  
in Pand. No.  
Relig. p. 31.  
† Demost. in  
Mid. 347.

m Cont. An-  
dro. 383.

n Dem. p. 406.

the accused was (as among the Romans, whence *Rei pendu-  
li*) exposed in a publique Table to the view of all men; which  
they terme *ἐκκλῆσις*. *Demosthenes*. ἵνα ἐκκλῆσις πρὸς ἅπας ἑπαι-  
νω. *Ulpian*. πομπὴν καὶ πᾶσι βλέπειτο. You see here the place  
too, viz. at the Statutes of the *Eponymi*. Before a man was con-  
victed, all that they objected to him was but *αἴτια*, by *m De-  
mosthenes* termed *ψιλὸς λόγος*, a bare report; but after prooffe  
*ἐλεγχος*. ὅταν δὲ ἄνθρωπος τις, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁμὴ δείξει. After judg-  
ment past, *n ὁ δόγματα*. An inditement of sacriledg, theft,  
murder, treason, is but *αἴτια*; the evidence and conviction  
makes it *ἐλεγχος*, the sentence *ᾄδηναι*.

### C A P. I I I. S E C T. I I.

*De Areopago, & ejus appellatione. Areopagita.*

a when Tul-  
Ius had divided  
the Roman hill,  
he made on high  
hills and places  
fortified by na-  
ture, refuges for  
the husbandmen  
and called them  
*πάγους*.

Dion. Hal. 4.

Not as if it  
signified a vil-  
lage, but as it  
was situated:

For Pagus  
villarustica  
comes from

*παγὸν*: Because

built neer a well. Perot.

b In Acta p. 136. c Eumenidib. p. 296. d Elect. p. 836. e Meta-  
morph. l. 6. fab. 2. f Vide Scalig. in conject. g Demost. 413 Paul. p. 26. Simeon. Met. & Pachym:  
in vir. Dionys. Areopag. b Loc. citato: i Pau. Attic. p. 31:

ON the hill, on which the *Acropolis* was built, stood the  
*Areopagus*, in the old Translation of the Acts of the A-  
postles rendered *Vicus Martius*, by our Englishmen, *Mars his  
Street*, Falsly. For a *παγος* beares not that signification, but  
what *b Justin Martyr* interprets, ὁ ὑψηλὸς τόπος, an eminent  
place. *Εν δὲ ὁχθρῇ τινὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ*. For that Judica-  
tory was on a high rock. Therefore named by *c Eschylus*, &  
*d Euripides*, *Ἀρεῖος ὄχθος*, by *e Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavortis*, and  
*f Ennius*, *Areopagitica petra*: so called, as fond Antiquitie  
would have it, *g* from the judgment of the twelve Gods  
upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrhothius* the sonne of *Neptune*.  
But *b Justin Martyr*, because he was there arraigned of advou-  
tery, *ὑποχρεῖται ἐκκλῆσι δικάσαι ἐδουκέν*. But alike true. It pleases me  
well to consider the superstition of the ancients, that conse-  
crated high places to their deities, and erected the statues of  
their Gods upon hills. As *i Parnes*, *Hymettus*, *Anchesmus*,

whence

whence *Jupiter Parnethius, Hymettius, Ancheſmus*. And as in *Athens*, *Neptune* had a hill Ποσειδώνος ἄγος, *Saturne* another Κρόνος ἄγος, *Pan* another Πανός ἄγος, *Mercury* another, <sup>k Eumenidiis.</sup> Ερμῆος ἄγος, so *Mars* his *Areopagus*. <sup>P. 296.</sup> k *Eschylus* gives it a nomination from the *Amazons*, sacrificing to *Mars* there, when they came & fought against *Theseus*. Or if you will receive the opinion of others, it takes the name from the cases in it handled, of blood wilfully shed: so *Hesychius*, ἡρεῖται ὀνομασία, That when l *Juvenal* calls it *Curiam Martis*, you may interpret it, <sup>l Satyr. 9. v. 100.</sup> *The Court of Murther*, but willingly committed. This is termed by the m *Tragedian*, the most uncorrupt, sharp, reverend <sup>m Æschylus pag. 297.</sup> counsel, then which nothing is more constant (saies n *Tully*, <sup>n Ad Atticum. l. i. Ep. 11.</sup> comparing to it the Roman Senate) nothing more severe, as <sup>o De bello Tre. l. 6. p. 147.</sup> by o *Pseudo Dictus Cretensis* it is stiled *Judicium severissimum per omnem Graciam*. Then which none judged better, <sup>p Apolog. p. 448.</sup> more just, or honest, saies p *Xenophon*. q *Plutarch* writes that <sup>q In Solone pag. 63.</sup> this Court was ordained by *Solon*, and r *Cicero* received the <sup>r Offic. l. i.</sup> like opinion; but that seems to contradict it, which *Plutarch* presently brings, quoted in the thirteenth table, that they who had lost their liberties should be restored again, unlesse they were condemned by the *Areopagites*, *Epheta*, *Prytanes*, *Basileis*, of murther, slaughter, tyranny, when that Law was enacted. And by and by, <sup>f Loc. laudato.</sup> f *Tives* ὅς ἑστιν ἐν τῷ Σόλωνος, &c. Who <sup>f Loc. laudato.</sup> were condemned in *Areopagus* before *Solons* time (if he first instituted the *Areopagites*.) t Others are of opinion, that *Solon* added the *Areopagites* to the *Epheta* (Judges so called, because <sup>t Pollux. l. 8. p. 407.</sup> when formerly the *Basileus* made inquisition after murder unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it ἐφῆται, that is, translated it to the *Epheta*, their number was but fifty one. And though they judged in five Courts once, yet by little and little they became ridiculous.) n *Possardus* saies, he abolished their severity, and substituted the *Areopagites*. But a *Urbo Emnius* <sup>a De Athen. Mag. p. 446.</sup> more probably, that *Solon* was not the Author of this Senate, <sup>a De Rep. A. then. p. 20.</sup> but brought it into a better forme, made it more strong and firme, and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it seems



bVide *Maxim*  
num in Pro-  
log. ad S. Di-  
onyf. opera &  
Niceph. lib. 2.  
in vita Dion.  
c Pachymer.  
d Ifoc. in Are-  
opag. p. 133.  
e Loco supra  
laudato.  
f Atthid. l. 2.  
g Anonym. in  
Argu. Oratio.  
Androtia.  
h They were  
of thofe Magi-  
ftrates that  
were chofen  
by Lot, as the  
Archon. The-  
fmothetæ,  
Baf. leus, Po-  
lemarchus, for  
which caufe  
Pericles was  
not of that  
number be-  
caufe he never  
attained to  
theſe offices.  
Plut. in Peric.  
p. 113.  
h Anonymus  
loco laudar.  
De ſtatu Ita-  
liæ adverſus  
Machiavel.

leſſened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Epheta*; *Solon* reſtored that authority and made it greater. To this compa-  
ny none were admitted, but wiſe, wealthy, and noble men;  
c famous for good life, and innocency, τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἀνεπιληπτόν,  
whom no man could juſtly charge of miſdemeanour. Nay,  
men, whoſe behaviour was intolerable, δὲ πῶς ἄλλοις φάγ-  
μασιν ἀνεκτοὶ ὄντες, after they were choſen into the Colledge  
of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and bluſhing at their former  
diſpoſitions, ἀκύντες τῇ εὐσεὶ χρῆσθαι, changed their natures, &  
embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertain. e *Nice-*  
*phorus* makes them but nine; as *Maximus* too out of f *Philo-*  
*chorus*; *Pachymerius* fiftie and one. But what *Maximus* pro-  
duces after, is ſomewhat, that they conſiſted of fifty and one,  
beſide the Nobility moſt wiſe and rich. πάλω' ἐξ Εὐπατριδῶν καὶ  
πλάτῳ καὶ βίῳ σὺνθεσι διαφέροντων. By which words he ſeems  
to ayme at the nine *Archontes*, g who when they had gover-  
ned one year, and given an account of their offices, and had  
adminiſtred all things juſtly, were choſen yearly into this ſo-  
ciety. For which election annuall, the number was doubtfull.  
For ſome might die in that ſpace; or all live, and in the next  
year be encreaſed. Volaterran out of an old inſcription in  
*Acropolis*, that they were three hundred; ΤΩ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩ  
&c. To the moſt famous *Rufius Feſtus*, Proconſull of Greece &  
*Areopagite*, the counsell of *Areopagus* conſiſting of three hun-  
cred; and the people of *Athens* ſet up this monument for a te-  
ſtimoniall of his good will and benevolence. But that might on-  
ly happen when this was erected. h They continued all their  
life time in this dignity, and were never put out, εἰ μήτις μα-  
χάως ἤμαρτο, unleſſe for ſome grand offence. i *Bozins* tels us  
(how true I wot not) that they were all Priests. *Athenienſis*  
*olim*, &c. The *Athenians*, quoth he, did ſtrive to challenge to  
themſelves the prerogative of wiſdome, and to them is it  
bent what the Apoſtle ſaies, *The Greeks ſeek after wiſdome*.  
Nevertheſſe their *Areopagus*, who had the power of all  
things conſiſted of Iudges that were Priests, and the High  
Priest

Priest of all that asked every of their sentences, took the suffrages. Their authority was unlimited. For *k* they were overseers of all, *l* Judges of wilfull murthers, wounds given out of pretended malice: which would make some, having a desire to drive a man out of *Athens*, goe to a Chirurgion and make an incision in their heads, that they might sue him who they hated, upon an action of battery, as *m* *Mantithens* against *Baotus*. They sate upon incendiaries, and impositions, if the party died that took their doses. *a* They saw that the Laws should be put in execution, such as *Contaren* would have in *Venice* to be Guardians to their Statutes. *c* In a word all great delinquencies came under their censures. They inquired into the behaviours of men; & we read in *dXenophon* that they sharply reprov'd a young man for his loose living. *ατακαλεπ-  
ρῶν αὐτὸν ὃν Ἀρεῖο παρῶν*, &c. saies the *Dipnosophist*. *e* *Valerius Maximus*. *Est & ejusd: m urbis f sanctissimum consilium* *Areopagus &c*. There is likewise in that City the most famous Councel *Areopagus*, where they were wont most diligently to enquire, what every of the *Athenians* did, by what gaine he maintained himselfe, and what his trade and actions were. That men, knowing and remembring that once they must give an account of their lives, might embrace honesty. *g* The Greek author tels us that except in great cases of necessity they medled not with state affaires, but it seems otherwise. For if any one say, quoth *h* *Tullie*, that the *Attick* Republique can be well governed, without the counsell of the *Areopagites*; he may as well say that the World may be governed without the Providence of the Gods. When the *Medes* and *Persians* invaded *Greece*, *i* by the advice of them was the war waged, wherein *Themistocles* purchased an everlasting memory of a victory. *k* And when their publique Treasury was bare, they furnished each man with eight *Drachmes*, and stored the ships with Mariners. Which advise, when they had wonne the day, was a cause, saies *l* *Aristotle*, *ἑνὶ τῷ πλείονι πόντῳ καὶ πολλῇ ναυτικῇ*, to give strength and sinewes to the

*Plutarch. Solon. p. 63.*  
*Ælian. Var. 1. 5. c. 15.*  
*Dem. p. 406.*  
*m* *Demost. in Orat. περὶ βοιωτῶν ἀεὶ ἐν δόματι &c.*  
*a* *Dem. p. 445.*  
*b* *Pachymer. In Sympo. s. unless I am extremely forgetful. It is quoted likewise by Athenæus. Dipnos. 1. 4. p. 167.*  
*e* *Lib. 2. c. 6.*  
*f* *Aristides. T. 1. p. 331.*  
*g* *ἡσι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιμνηστικῶν*  
*h* *Tullie. 20.*  
*i* *Anon. Arg. Orat. Androt. De natura Deorum. 2.*  
*k* *Est enim bellum gestum consilio Senat. Off. 1.*  
*l* *Plutarch. in Themistocl. pag. 84. l. 3.*  
*Com-l Poll. 1. 5. c. 4.*

Commonwealth. *m* Under their sight were all the youth of *Athens*. For this Reason especially, because that when they were reckoned among men, and were come to age, they needed more care to be had of them, then when they were children (not observed by our countrymen in sending their sonnes young to the *Innes of Court*) youth and heat of blood, unstaidnesse in judgment, rashnesse in adventures, and pronenesse to vice, leading, or rather carrying headlong tender years to their own destruction. To them appertained blasphemies against their Gods, violating of Religion, and divulging mysteries, as when *n Euryclid* the *Hierophanta* in answer to the question of *Theodorus*, τίνας εἰσὶν οἱ ἀσεβεῖντες θεῖ τὰ μυστήρια; who offended against the mysteries? οἱ τοῖς ἀμειντοῖς αὐτὰ ἐκδίδοντες, replied, such as open them to those who are not initiated. Therefore, quoth the Philosopher, art thou impious. For which crime, had not *Demetrius Phalerens* befriended him, the *Hierophanta* was in danger, εἰς ἡγετον ἀγχιπύλαι πύργου, to have been brought before the Councel of *Areopagus*. By virtue of which authority *St Paul* was here judged for teaching strange Gods (as they supposed.) *a* For although that the *Athenians* were under the *Romans*, yet their Lords made them ἀντὶ τῶν νόμων, *sub juris*, and permitted the to keep their ancient customes. The manner of proceeding in this Court, was thus. After the felony committed, the appellant brought his indictment to the *Basileus*, who giving the prisoner and his accuser audience once a month, at three severall times to debate the businesse, in the fourth moneth, brings in the accusation to the *Areopagites*, *b* and putting off the Crown which he was wont to wear, sate down as judg with the *Areopagites* in the dark: for they judged by night, saies *c Lucian*, that they might not regard the speaker, but what was spoken. It being there forbidden *d* περιστάσει καὶ οὐκ ἐκ κινήσεως, to move to compassion, and use Proems, as in other Courts, wherein they craved the Judges favour and attention, which by *Demosthenes* are termed *e* παραγώγαι. This *f* *Aristotle*

*m* Isocrates  
Reop. p. 132.

*n* Laert. lib. 2.  
in Aristippo.  
pag. 154.

*a* Symeon  
Metaphrast.

*b* Pollux. l. 3.

*c* Hermotim.

p. 505.

*d* Pollux, pag.

405.

*e* Vide Ulp.

*n* Demost.

ag. 396.

*f* *Aristotle*



stile calls ἔω τῷ πρῶτῳ λέγειν, to speak beside the matter.  
 Before the trial both parties swear ( which they stile ὁρκω-  
 μωσιαν ) The appealer standing upon the testes of a Goat, a <sup>g</sup> Pollux loco-  
 Ram, and a Bull (usual to the Greeks, as Tyndareus swore the <sup>cont. Aristocr</sup>  
 Suiters of Helena, that they should revenge any wrong done <sup>p. 413.</sup>  
 to her and her predestinated husband, <sup>h</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ ἱππῷ καὶ τῷ μίαν, <sup>b</sup> Pausanias  
 and Hercules to the children of Heleus <sup>ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ ἀδελφοῖς</sup> took <sup>Lacon. p. 103.</sup>  
 oath, therefore named <sup>δ</sup> ἄρκος, <sup>ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς</sup> in which he maintai- <sup>i</sup> Idem Mella-  
 ned that he dealt justly and rightly, and that he was joyned <sup>niacis. p. 126.</sup>  
 in affinity to the slaine man, <sup>k</sup> which if he were not, he could <sup>k</sup> Demosth. p.  
 not prosecute, the Law forbidding. The reason why he stood <sup>608. & 418.</sup>  
<sup>ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς</sup> I suppose is, because they are the instruments of ge- <sup>These agreed,</sup>  
 neration, and in that oath, if he were not true, he wished an <sup>jaies Pollard,</sup>  
 extirpation of his house, himselfe, and his posterity. In which <sup>about the pu-</sup>  
 if he were perjured, he was liable to no punishment, as a <sup>nishment, ac-</sup>  
 mong the Romans. <sup>i</sup> *jurisjurandi contempta religio satis De- <sup>cording to the</sup>  
*um ultorem habet.* For swearing is punished by a revenging <sup>damage re-</sup>  
 God; but if any swore false by the life of the Prince, he fell <sup>ceived. De A-</sup>  
 under the Julian Law, *Lex Majestatis*. After this the priso- <sup>then. Mag. p.</sup>  
 ner swore; which among us will not be allowed. Then setting <sup>449.</sup>  
 each of them upon a two silver stones, one of which was na- <sup>l</sup> Lib. 2. C. de  
 men <sup>αἰδοῦ</sup> τῷ βλάτῳ, the stone of injury, the other <sup>reb. cred.</sup>  
<sup>Ανδρείας</sup>, by <sup>a</sup> Pauf. Attic.  
 Adrian Junius thought <sup>p. 27.</sup>  
<sup>Ανδρείας</sup> of innocence, not impudence.  
 Then the appealer asked the prisoner three questions, which  
<sup>b</sup> *Æschylus* calls <sup>τρεῖς ἀποκρίματα</sup>. First, whether he were <sup>b</sup> Eumenid.  
 guilty or no, <sup>c</sup> εἰ κατέκτορας; to which he answered, <sup>ἐκ τοῦ α</sup> or <sup>p. 292.</sup>  
<sup>ἐκ τοῦ α</sup> yea or nay: secondly, <sup>δ</sup> πῶς κατέκτορας; for what rea- <sup>c</sup> Ibidem.  
 son he did the murther? Thirdly, <sup>τίν</sup> βλάμῃ; who were  
 the Abettours? Then arose there certain Lawyers, <sup>ἐξηγηταί</sup>,  
 who shewed whether the Murther was committed <sup>δ</sup> αὐτῷ δίκῃ, <sup>d</sup> *Æschylus* p.  
 in justice. (e For in Athens there were such Councillours, to <sup>293.</sup>  
 whom in matters of difficultie they had resort) By <sup>συνδίκῃ</sup>, <sup>e</sup> Demost. vid.,  
 you must understand those causes, in which <sup>f</sup> *Draco* thought <sup>p. 647.</sup>  
 it lawful to kill a man. As taking him committing uncleannes <sup>f</sup> Demost. p.  
 with wife, mother, sister, daughter, or concubin, or any whom <sup>312,</sup>  
 he*

Vid. Demost.  
contr. Aristocr.

Vide Sylvium  
in Orat. pro  
Flacco.

g Terentius.  
h 'Ητ' ἔτων κει-  
σις ἐκ ἐστ' οὗ τῷ  
κρίθεντι ἐρεσιν.  
Pachymerius.  
i Demost. con.  
Aristocrat. p.  
413.  
k Aristid.  
Tom. 1. p. 185.  
l Ælian Var.  
Hist. l. 5. c. 13.

m Valer. Max:  
p. 322.

a Lib. quinto.

he accounts among his children; the party so offending might be slain in the manner by him, against whom he had trespassed. Likewise, in the defence of a mans goods, if the theefe were killed, impunity was granted. After this inquisition, they passed to sentence, which was given very privily as *Juvenal* intimates, *Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis*; without speaking (is the *Tabellares sententie* of the *Romans*, in which they wrote C. if they condemned. A. if absolved. N.L. if the case were not manifest) hence *Ἀρειοπαγίτε σεραιώτερον*, for one that is close and silent; and *Ἀρειοπαγίτης*, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, & in whose countenance is *g tristis severitas*. ἐπὶ τῇ σκυθρωπῶν καὶ ὑπερσεμνῶν καὶ σιωπηλῶν. Whatsoever they concluded of, stood irrecoverable, h neither could there be any appeal to another Tribunal. And no marvel. For so upright was their sentence, i that none, either Appellant or prisoner, could ever say, that he was unjustly condemned. Nay both parties, as well those that are cast, as they that cast, are alike contented. καὶ τῶν μὲν οὐ σέβουσιν ὁμοίως τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν. After doome the prisoner was to suffer death. In which execution also the *Areopagites* had a care lest the innocent should be punished with the guilty. / When therefore they had condemned a woman for poisoning another, they deferred the execution, because she was great with child, and straightway after her delivery put the mother to death. Which custome is by us also observed at our Assises. m It will not be amisse to relate one memorable thing done in the time of *Dolabella* Proconsull of *Asia*, who, when a dame of *Smyrna* was brought before him, for killing her husband & sonne, who had deprived her of a hopefull youth, begot of her by a former husband, referred the audience of the matter to the *Areopagites*; who commanded the woman and her accuser to appear some hundred yeares after, that by such a bottom of time, scarce able to be unwinded, they might shew, that they neither would condemn nor acquit the womā. One thing more a *Quintilian* tels us, that they condemned a boy for

for putting out the eyes of Quails. Because it was a signe of a mind, likely to prove most pernicious. Their power was shaken and somewhat pluckt downe by <sup>b</sup> *Ephialtes*, a fore <sup>b</sup> *Plutarch.* enemy of *Oligarchicall* government, and more inclining to <sup>Vit. p. 355.</sup> the people, who was secretly slain by <sup>& Mor. 361.</sup> *c* *Aristodocus* of *Tana-* <sup>c</sup> *Plut. in Pe-* *gra*. They sate three daies every Month, *παρατη εδινοντο*, <sup>ricie. p. 113.</sup> *παρατη, εδινοντο.*

CAP. III. SECT. III.

*De Iudicio ἐν Πάλλاديῳ.*

**A**fter the siege of Troy some of the Grecians came with <sup>d</sup> *Diētis Cre-* *Diomedes*, <sup>tenfis de bel-</sup> who kept the *Palladium*, to the coast of <sup>lo Trojano.</sup> *Attica*, and ariving by night at *Phalerum*, supposing it to be an enemy country, went to make a prey. Where <sup>l. 5. p. 140.</sup> *Demopho-* ignorant that they were Grecians came to aid and defend his own; and slew many of the *Argivi*: which they cast out unburi- <sup>e</sup> *Libro octa-* ed, whose bodies when no beast had toucht <sup>vo pag. 406.</sup> (*εἰς δὲν αἰσθη-* <sup>f</sup> *Schol. Soph.* *τατοζών* *Pollux* saies, the interpreter, *nullus vivus*, I better think it no creature either soule or beast) *Acamas* <sup>in Oed. Tyr.</sup> shewed that they were *Argivi* having the *Palladium*; Being <sup>\* It is simply</sup> warned then by the Oracle (who named them *Αργῖοι*, that <sup>so called Pal-</sup> is, fneither knowing nor known) they buried them; and in <sup>ladium Ælian</sup> that Place consecrated the *Palladium*; where they made also <sup>Var. l. 5. c. 15.</sup> a judicatory for murthers unwillingly committed, and cal- <sup>ἐν δὲ τῷ αἰ-</sup> led it <sup>νεστῖον ἐν</sup> *\* ἐν Πάλλاديῳ*, *juxta Palladium*, as some. Here was <sup>Πάλλاديῳ.</sup> *Demopho* first tried, who returned from this battaile, killed <sup>g</sup> *Pausan. At-* with his horse, somewhat diverting, an *Athenian*; <sup>tic. pag. 27.</sup> *g* For whose kindred some think he satisfied the Law, or generally for the <sup>h</sup> *Demosth.* *Argivi*. <sup>contra Nex-</sup> *h* If any had striken a man or woman, and tbe party <sup>ram. pag.</sup> chanced to die, he was judged in this Court. <sup>727. Vide</sup> *i* In such cases the Law was very favourable; for the party offending was <sup>647.</sup> not punished with perpetuall exile; <sup>Demosth.</sup> *αἰφροζία*, as in wilfull <sup>pag. 329.</sup> felony; (kept by us in England once, called *Abjuration*

R

(where



k Demosthe-  
nes, Midiana.  
l Eust. in Iliad  
1. Εἶδος πα-  
λαιὸν ὡς πο-  
τὶς δὲντος  
πνός &c.  
m De Ponto  
l. 1. Eleg 4.  
n Eustath. bnt  
Demosth.  
ὡς αὖ αἰ σέ-  
σται τις τῶ  
ἐν γένει τῷ  
πεπορδοτός:  
Untill he ob-  
tained remissi-  
on from some  
of the kindred  
of the slain.  
a Demosth.  
b Fastorum 2  
initio.

c Κετὰ Αε-  
σοκρ. p. 414.  
d Pausan. Co-  
rinth. p. 74.  
Κετὰ ἡμεῖς δὲ  
φασιν Ορέ-  
στῳ καὶ παρ-  
είοις καὶ ἄλ-  
λοις &c.

( where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would ne-  
ver returne) but he did k' ἐξέρχῃ, in a gentler terme. l For it  
was a custome of old, to give a certain summe of mony ( the  
Attick Law *χρήματα ἐμπύμα*, in wilfull, all was confiscate ) to  
the kindred of the slaine that they might not depart their  
country: but if they could not purchase an abroad they went  
some where else. m *Ovid. Cade puer fact à Patroclus Opunta  
reliquit.* Their discontinuance was but for one year \* *Ἀλλως  
δ' εἶσεν οὐ φονδὸς ἐπ' αἵματι πάλαι ἐν αὐτῷ.* The mony dis-  
bursed on such occasions was properly called *ποινὴ quasi πο-*  
νὴ, from *φόν* & murther, as if it were the price of bloud. And  
the Scholiast on *Sophocles* tells us that *ποινὴ* is spoken only ἐν  
*καταβολῇ χρημάτων* of payment of mony, but abusively of a-  
ny punishment, a If the party wounded had forgiven the  
offender before his death, or the allies of the man desperate-  
ly hurt, none could afterwards compell him to flee; other-  
wise he fled. And in that flight he betook himselfe to some  
acquaintance; by whom he was clesed from the guilt with  
certain ceremonies of washing, which the Romans call  
*Februa*. So was *Patroclus*, *Peleus*, *Medea*, *Alomaon* purified:  
b *Ovid.*

*Gracia principium moris fuit: illa nocentes  
Impia lustratos ponere facta putat.  
Actoridem Peleus, ipsum quoque Pelea Phoci  
Cade per Aemonias solvit Acastus aquas.  
Vestamfranatis per inane draconibus Aegens  
Credulus immerit à Phasida fovit ope;  
Amphiardiades Naupacteo Acheloo  
Solve nefas dixit, solvit & ille nefas.  
Ah nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cadis  
Fluminea tolli posse putatis aqua.*

In this ceremony they did *δύσαι*, sacrifice, saies c *Demosthenes*;  
which custome likewise was observed by the d *Træzenians*  
in the lustration of *Orestes* from the bloud of his mother;  
which I garther by the feast which they presently celebrated  
there

there, and yearly observed afterward. This manner was done with water, as you may read, taken out of the well *Hippocrene*, made by the foot of *Pegasus*; the sprinkling was with a little bough of Lawrel, as I suppose (by the words following perswaded to it, which tell us, that when the καδάριστα were buried, there sprouted out of them a Bay-tree) & after that καδαίρειν, θῦναι, καὶ καδαρθῶσαι. This, as I said, was in his flight. Κατὰ δ' ὁμοῖον καδαίρειν νομίζουσιν. The proceeding in this Court, was first, δαωσις, such as before I mentioned, an oath of each party, accuser & defendant: secondly, λόγος, their speeches of both sides: thirdly, γνῶσις δικαστεῖν, Judgement. If the prisoner were found guilty, that is, unwillingly to have murdered, then had he a time appointed him, how long he should flee, as above said, untill he had made peace and gotten pardon from the Cousins of the deceased.

## CAP. III. SECT. IV.

*De Judiciis in Delphinio. Πρυτανείῳ Φρεατίῳ.*

**A**T Athens there was a Temple erected by c *Ægeus* (who lived in *Delphinium*) to the honour of *Apollo Delphinus* and *Diana Delphinia*, a where was the Tribunall named *Δελφινίον*, or ἐπὶ δελφινίῳ δικαστήριον. \* In this Judicatory were heard cases of murder, when the party confessed the fact, but pleaded that it was legitimate. b For the Law required no punishment of any man that should kill another taking him committing adultery with his Wife, or uncleanness with his Mother, Sister, Daughter, Concubine, or free Children. Likewise if in preservation of his goods or own defence he spilt blood, it was not capital. The first that was arraigned here was *Theseus*, maintaining the right he had to slay the Theeves, saies c *Pollux*, (I know not whether he mean *Sciron* and *Procrustes* &c.) and *Pallas* with his children, who were rebels. Before this tryall of *Theseus*, who-

Plutarch.  
pag. 4. l. 19.  
a Schol. Arist.  
pag. 333.  
\* Ælian. Var.  
15. c. 15.  
b Demosth.  
contra Arist.  
pag. 410, 411.  
c Lib. 8. pag.  
406.  
d Pausan.  
Art. p. 27.

soever had slaine any body was compelled to flee the Country, or staying dye, were the cause never so just. Ἐν Πρυτανείῳ Here they sate on things inanimate. As if a stone, timber, iron, or such like fall on a man, and kill him, if the party that flung this be not known, sentence was past on that thing which slew him; and the *φουλοβασιλῆς*, that were the Masters of this Court, were to see this thing cast out of the Territories of Athens, to which *g* *Æschines* alludes. τὰ μὲν ξύλα καὶ τὰ λίθους, καὶ τὰ σίδερα τὰ ἄφωνα, καὶ ἀγνώμενα ἔαν πᾶσι ἐμπρόσθεν ἀπικταίνῃ ἐκδορίζουτο. The first thing that here was judged was an axe, wherewith the Priest, whom they call *Βυφόν*, had slain an Oxe on the Altar of *Jupiter Polieus* in the time of *Erechtheus*. Ἐν φρεαθῶϊ. In that part of *Piræum* which is next the Sea, is a place which they name *φρεαθῶς*, from *Phreutus* an *Heros*, some think; not because it stood in a pit, whence *h* *Pollux* names it *ἐν φρεάτει*. Here they were judged who having fled out of another country for unwillfull murther *μήπω τῷ ἐκβαλόντων αὐτὸν ἡδυσμῶν*, they that drove him out not acquitting him, if in the space of this exile it happened that he wittingly slew another he answered here. The proceeding was in this sort. The Judges assembled *ἐν φρεαθῶϊ*, in a place seated on the Sea, καὶ τόπον ἐπιβαλόμενον ἐπιταλάῃσι, where the guilty drawing near in a boat or bark was to make his apology, καὶ γῆς ἐχῆσθαι ἀπομένο; not coming to land or touching it, neither casting anchor / or mooring his bark; and if he were found guilty he underwent deserved punishment: if he were not found guilty they cleared him of that fact, nor discharging him of the former *ἢ πῶς ὃ ἐπὶ δευτέρῳ φόνῳ ἀγγνώσκει*. I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are in this, that if he were cast in this tryall, he was exposed to the cruel mercy of the wind and waves. These last quoted words seeme to contradict it. The first that ever answered here was *Teneer*, proving himselfe to be innocent of the death of *Ajax*:<sup>a</sup> whom they treacherously circumvented because he defended not his father *Telamon*, drove out of

*Salamis*

*f* Pollux loco citato.  
*g* Contra Ctesiph. p. 103.

*h* Lib. octav. 406.  
*i* Demosth. contra Aristoccr. 415.

*k* Demosth.  
*l* Rodolphus Gualter. out of Pollux interprets it  
*Scalam terræ injicientem; putting downe a ladder; the Greeke*  
*ὑποβιβάζων.*  
*m* Demosthenes.  
*a* Dictis Cretenfis de bel. lo Trojano. l. 6. p. 145.



*Salamis*, unto which that he might be restored he made appeal to this Court. Which gives light to <sup>b</sup> *Aristotle* Ὅσα τῶν <sup>b</sup> *Politicon*. φέυσει φόνο, ἐπὶ κατὰ δὴν ἐπιφέρει, οὗ Ἀθλῶντι λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἐν 4. c. 17. φρεατῆος δικαστήριον. Judicatories concerning men flying for murther, that care for their bringing back againe, such as in *Athens*, τὸ ἐν φρεατῆος When the party prosecuting will not admit of reconciliation.

CAP. III. SECT. V.

*De Tribunalibus reliquis.* Παράβυστον. Τείρωνον. Βατραχίον. Φοινικεῖον. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ Μιντίχῃ δικαστήριον. Ἐν Ἀρδίῃ. Δισπηταί.

**B**Efides these Courts of bloud and causes criminall, there were for civill matters these *Heliaa*, of which before for the excellency of it I treated. Παράβυστον. Of this name there are two, ἡ μείζων καὶ ἡ μέση, the greater and the middle. In this Court were handled matters, saies *Petit*, that exceeded not one drachme, to which <sup>c</sup> *Aristotle* might <sup>c</sup> *Polit. lib. 4.* be thought to look, speaking of Judicatories, καὶ τῶν μικρῶν c. 17. συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα δραχμῶν &c. And this was the meaning of <sup>d</sup> *Pausanias*, εἰς ἐλαχίστας συνιέντων εἰς αὐτό. Suing here <sup>d</sup> *Atticis. p.* for the least occasions. The *Undecimviri* were Judges of the <sup>27. l. 13. Court, which made *Petit* to suppose that it was not to be reckoned among the δέκα δικαστήρια. It stood <sup>e</sup> ἐν ἀφανεί πύ- <sup>e</sup> *Pausanias.* λειῳ, in an obscure place of the city; whence <sup>e</sup> ἐν Παράβυστῳ, in <sup>e</sup> *ibidem.* <sup>f</sup> *Demosthenes*, is by *Vlpian* expounded privily, by a *Metaphor* taken frō the situation of the Judicatory, or, ἀποκρυφισμάτων καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκοδομίᾳ ἔειδον, καὶ κρυφαῖα τὰ φαινόμενα, from goods secretly hidden. Ἐν Παράβυστῳ, ἀντὶ τῆς ἀάθρου. Τείρωνον, from the forme of it, which seems to have been triangular. Βα- <sup>g</sup> *Aristoteles.* <sup>g</sup> *Athen. Rep.* <sup>g</sup> *apud Arist.* <sup>g</sup> *Sch. pag. 31.* <sup>g</sup> *ἐπὶ τῷ στυκίσκῳ τῷ ἐισόδῳ*</sup> upon the post of the entry, answerable to which there was a staffe given to the Judges, that they

they might know in what Court to sit. For they presently went to that Court which had the same colour with their staffe. τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ. From the statue of *Lycus* an *Heros*, which was there set up, having the face of a wolf, where likewise the statue of *Juno* stood visaged in the same manner. But we must not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every Court, hence ἡ Λύκος δέκα, *Lyci decem*, for sycophants & such as corrupt judgement, because that such persons were very frequent and busy there; And so think I *Pollux* is to be read, ἡ πάλας ἡ συνήσαν ὅι σωδενάζοντες τὰ δικαστήρια (understand πρὸς ὃν or the like) at which they who bribed the Judicatories met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture ἐν δὲ ὅι σωδενάζοντες καὶ συνοδόντας καὶ δέκα γυγνόμενοι σωδενάζοντο. The *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple neare the Judicatory, where the Judges divided their mony for pay, three oboli to each, a day. *Μητίχης δικαστήριον*. This was a great Judicatory; so named from *Metichus* an artificer which built it. Here, who had passed thirty years of his age, and was well and Nobly defended, and owed nothing to the publique treasury, might be chosen Judge. For of such they all consisted, Ἐν Ἀρδῆτῳ. Some have falsely supposed that there was a Tribunall so called: neither did *d Mursius* think otherwise, when he translated these words of *e Pollux*, ἐν Ἀρδῆτῳ δικαστήριον, *apud tribunal Ardetum*. The fault crept in by the negligence of the transcriber; for the place is thus to be read, ἄρτυον ἐν Ἀρδῆτῳ δικαστήριον. The Judicatories were wont to take Oath or be sworn in *Ardettus*. *Ardettus* is a place near the river *Ilissus*, so named from *Ardettus* a Peere, who swore the people, being in sedition and mutinie to love and amity. Where afterwards, as is most probable, the Judges took oath (I cannot justly say presently after their election) to give sentence according to the Lawes, and concerning things to which no Lawes were enacted, in equity and justice, *f by Apollo Patrus, Ceres, and Jupiter Rex*. And this the Etymologist affirms, speaking of *Ardettus*, *g* Ἐν τῷ

*b* *Zenobius*.

*a* Lib. octavo p. 406. The place is extremely corrupted, as you may perceive by the false Greek.

*b* Vesp. p. 457. *e* *Pollux* lib. 8.

*d* *Athen. Ar.* l. 2. c. 12. p. 124. *e* Lib. 8. pag. 406.

*f* Ἀπόλλων Πατριός, καὶ Διὶ Πατρί, καὶ ἑρμῇ.  
*g* Etym. mag. p. 147.

τῷ δὲ τὰς χρεῖς ἀμυνόντι δικάσῃ δικάσικόν ὄρεον. The Judges in this place took their oath touching the discharge of their office. From whence among the Ancients such as would presently sweare, were called *h Ardetti*, proverbially, as also those who were perjurious and forsworne. *Kai Αρδῆτες ἐπόρευε.* Thus have we viewed the Athenian Judicatories, in number tenne. For Murther, *Areopagus, Palladium, Delphinium, Prytanum*, and *Phreattys*. For other matters *Heliaa, Trigonum, Parabystum* (not the *Medium* but *Majus*) *Metichi forum*, & *ad Lycum*, where the *Δικασταὶ* were wont to sit, saies *k Possardus*, of whom, because *l Emmius* numbers them among *judicia quatuor præcipua*, the four chief Courts, I will now speak. But of every Tribe were chosen *m* forty four men, *n* above threescore years old, who judged in severall Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refused to sit according to his lot he was deprived of the privileges of an Athenian Citizen. *o* In former time there came no controversy into the Courts, which had not first past through their hands; (if it exceeded tenne drachmes; Although *p Ulpian* tels us that they determined of petty businesses) but that seems to be, *ἥ ἐν ἱεροῖς*, holy matters, if *Pollux* be so to be read. For some things there were which came not under their Jurisdiction. What ever the *Δικασταὶ κληρωτοὶ* judged, if the plaintiffe and defendant, or either of them liked not the award, they might referre it to the Senate (as appears out of the *q* Argument of *Demosth. Orat. contra Callippum*; & *r Pollux*) at which removing of the suit they were to cast their suffrages into a pot as they gave the, on what side soever, for the plaintiffe by themselves, and for the defendant by themselves. When they were appointed for the hearing of a case, they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties untill the even, at which time if neither, or but one was present, it was in their power to fine them according to the Law. At the time they entred the suit, and wrote the accusation, with the fine which

*h* Casaub.  
Theoph.  
Char. p. 178.  
*i* Etym. Mag.  
loco laudato.

*k* De Mag.  
Athen. p. 540.  
*l* Descrip.  
Reip. Ath. p.  
41.  
*m* Ulpian. in  
Dem. p. 342.  
*n* Pollux l. 8.  
p. 407.  
*o* Pollux ib.

*p* Demosthe-  
nem loco ci-  
tato.

*q* Pag. 678.  
*r* Lib. 8. p.  
407.

*s* Vide Dem.  
Midian. &c.  
Ulpian in il-  
lum. p. 344.



*i* Pollux 8.  
c. 10. p. 408.

*ii* Orat. in  
Bæotum pro  
dote.

\* Idem pag.  
682. n. 41.

*x* Ulpian lo-  
co laudato  
342.

*y* Petit. Mis-  
cel. l. 8. p. 211.

*z* Vide legem  
apud. Dem. p.  
344.

*a* Zenobius.

which was required for damages; they received as a fee from the plaintiffe one drachme which they called *τ δίαδοσις*, as also another from the defendant, when they gave him his oath. Their office was but annuall; And because they would pervert justice, (as *ii* Demosthenes is witnessse, \* although they were not to judge before they had sworne) give sentence according to favour, envy, or for gaine, therefore *x* at the years end made they an account of their function upon the last day of *γ Thargilion*, on which it was lawfull for any to speak what he could object against them; and if any were faulty, they were *ἀτιμοί*. Thus much of the *Διαιτητα Κληρονομια*. There were other *Διαιτητα* likewise, such as our Civilians call *Arbitri compromissarii*: and we in english *Arbitrators*: whom two parties chose with resolution to stand to their determination, whether in matter of debt, covenant or other controversy whatsoever: such by the Attick Law any might request, but with necessity of abiding at their judgement. *z* For they could not appeal from them to any other Court. To referre matters to their arbitrement the Greeks terme *ἐπιτίθεν δίκαιας*. And it will not be superfluous here to relate the story of *Bunas* an Athenian, whom when the *Elei* and *Calydonii* had chosen Arbitrator in a difference after he had heard both parties, he prolonged the sentence untill at last he died. Whence grew to a proverbe, *a* *Βέρας δικάζει*, *Bunas judicat*, *Bunas judgeth*, of those that deferre to passe sentence, and hold a case long in suspence.

#### CAP. IV.

##### *De Nominibus Judicialibus.*

**H**AVING thus treated of the Attick Courts, it follows that I speake of the Termes of Law, Writs, Accusations. These were of two sorts, private and publique. The publique were properly termed *κατηγοριαί*, *laies* *b* *Emmius*. Of

*b* Descrip. Reip.  
Ath. p. 41.

Κατ-

κατηγορίαν there were divers sorts. Γραφή, φάσις, ἐνδεξις, & παραγωγή, ἀρχήσεις, ἀνδραληψία, εἰσαγγελία. Γραφή, saies (e) *Ulpian*, is ἐν τῇ παρανομίᾳ, of any trespassse against the Law, by which the Statutes of the Commonwealth are violated; and most properly, (d) quoth he, elsewhere, it signifies an accusation made according to the Law; or to come nearer, it is the same which in English we call a (e) *VVrit* or Right, in Latine *Actio* or *Formula*, as in (f) *Sueton*, *Injuriarum formulam intendere*, to serve a man with a *VVrit*. (g) φάσις is a kind of an Information made against any for abuses in the Mines, or Custome houses, for converting Tribute money to a mans own use, or the like. *VV*hich offences were brought to the *Archon* in writing, with the names of the accuser and accused, and the fine which the parties convinced should undergoe, to be paid to him to whom the wrong was offered. But if the Informer had not the fift part of the suffrages, he was to lay down the sixt part of the fine; which the *Orators* call ἡμιδραχμήν, from ἡμιδράχμη, because it signifies the sixt part of a Drachme. At the end of the accusation, the informer was to subscribe the names of the witnesses that were present. In generall, all discoveries of private injuries are called φάσις; which in Latine you may name *delationes*. For which the Romans allotted the fourth part of the forfeit, whence they are stiled *Quadruplatores*; but among the *Athenians*, not so, if (i) *Pollux* say right. ὅτι τὸ μὲν πῦνδέν ἐν ἡμέτῳ τῷ ἀδικησάντων, εἰ κ' ἄλλοι ἢ αὐτῶν φαίνεν, The amercement fell to the person injured, although another accused for him. If the fine were written down a thousand Drachmes, & the Accuser had not the fift part of the voices; he paid two hundred and one Drachme: if it exceeded, a thousand, four hundred and one.. ἐνδεξις is a *VVrit* against those that owe to the City Treasury, and yet goe about to beare office, saies (k) *Ulpian*, which by the *Attick* Law was utterly forbidden. The *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes*, takes it for the accusing of any that did amisse in publique affaires: & the *Interpreter* of *Demosthenes* in another place, ἐν τῇ ἀπύμῳ

*In Demost. pro Corona.*

p. 159.

*d Orat. contra.*

*Lept. p. 296.*

*e Sir T. Smith*

*Com. Wealth*

*of Eng. l. 2. c. 10.*

*f In V. tell. o.*

*g Pollux l. 3.*

p. 387.

*h Demosthen.*

*cont. Caryl.*

p. 699. n. 6.

*cont. Everg &*

*Mnesib. pag.*

646. n. 90.

*cont. Steph.*

*↓ δδ. A. p.*

22. n. 9. *con-*

*tra Onetora.*

*Εξελ. β. p.*

528. n. 19.

*cont. Aphol.*

*6. p. 508. m. 97.*

*i Onomast. l.*

8. c. 6. p. 387.

*k Demost. p.*

391.

*l In Equit. p.*

303.

*m Pag. 469.*

n Onom. lib. 8.  
p. 388.

o In Stelit. 1.

p Sir T. Smith  
Commonw.  
of Engl. l. 2.  
c. 26. p. 281.  
q Loco laud.

r Ulp. in Dem.  
p. 389.  
s Idem. p. 407.

t Dem. p. 416.

for men disfranchised. But n *Pollux* teaches us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* against one taking in the manner, which the *Greeks* terme *ἑστωποφώρω*, o *Schol. Nazianz* *ἑστωποφώρω*, *Pollux* expresses by *ὁμολογεῖν ἀδικήματ' ὅ*, when the offence is confessed. Because men so apprehended were forced to condemne themselves; no further evidence required then from their own mouthes. By which acknowledgment of their guiltinesse, without greater trial they received their doome: p as among us when a prisoner arraigned, confesses his inditement to be true, no twelve men goe upon him: there resteth but the Judges sentence of the paine of death. Whence grew our Proverb, Confesse and be Hanged. q *Pollux* *ὁμολογεῖν ἀδικήματ' ὅ*, *ἔκδοσις*, ἀλλὰ *πρωτεύει* *θεοδότης*. He that thus made his declaration, was to subscribe his name, that if he were false, he might be liable to the Writ, *ἰδούδης ἐν δέξεραις*, The declaration was against men who were not present.

A *παρώγη*, is a carrying of a man before the Magistrate, being taken in the fact, whom otherwise he was to accuse by declaration in his absence. By which a thousand Drachmes were endangered. In this *παρώγη*, they brought not all offenders to the s<sup>ae</sup> Magistrates, but according as they were made Judges of such and such offences; a sometimes to the eleven, sometimes to the *Thesmothetae*, sometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a man had found out any indebted to the publike Treasury, or bound for those places or countries, where it was not permitted for him to goe, or one who had committed murder, if by reason of weaknesse he durst not venture to apprehend the person, and *ἀπαγεῖν*, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the house where such a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers terme *ἀφ' οὐραίου*. A *φρολή* *ἱστὸν*, is when a fellow hath committed murder, and flies for succour to any; (as the Law suffered any to receive him) if the kindred of the flaine or others had required the malefactor to be delivered to the and the Protector would not, it was lawful to enter into his house, and carry away any three persons, as some translate it,  
or



or all save three, ἀχαιοὶ, as others, who were to answer for the outrage done. But who so entred unjustly, was not to escape unpunished. Εἰσαγγελία, saies \*Ulpian, is an accusation concerning great and publique matters, such as (x) else-where he speakes of, to wit, the dissolution of the *Democrac*i; or if an Oratour had spoken what was not for the benefit of the weale publique, if any went to warres before they were sent, or betrayed a Garrison, army, or fleet. In other accusations, if the accuser had not the fift part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand Drachmes, and lost the priviledges of a Citizen, in this he was uncontrollable. But in after time, because men would accuse presently for none, or small offences, therefore was there a Law enacted, that whosoever accused by εἰσαγγελία, and had not the fift part of voices on his side, was fined a thousand Drachmes, although he lost not the priviledges of a Citizen. This εἰσαγγελία contained no written crimes, but was only by bare word of mouth, and as the accusation was given, so was the defence made according to the Law called Εἰσαγγελικὴ. The Senate was *Judg* (Pollux saies that *Solon* made a thousand to sit on this, and *Phalerens* 1500. Where the interpreter erres: for πρὸς πεντακῆποι is 500 to them, as πρὸς, in *Demosthenes*, and somewhat more) and whom they found delinquent, if in small faults, they fined, but if the offence were hainous, they committed him to prison. Thus much for publique actions, private were these that follow, more properly called δίκαι.

Δικία δ. is an Action against a man, who when two shall scuffle, gives the first blow, which the (γ) Greeks call ἀεξαι πλεονῶν δίκων. (x) The matter was heard before the Judges & though the Law ordained not any set summe of money for damages, yet it was permitted for the party smitten to write down what he thought fitting. a The reason why these actions were so strictly looked into, was lest any not able to defend himselfe with his hands, should seek to revenge himselfe with stones, or other hurtfull weapon,

\* Idem cont. Arist. p. 41.

\* In Dem. p. 58

x Eund. p. 453.

y Dem. p. 410.

vide Vlp. ibid.

& Arg. Orat.

cont. Everg.

p. 637.

z Sch. Arist.

Conc. p. 745.

a Dem. cont.

b Kz - Con. p. 690.

b Idem ibid.

c Arg. Orat.

Dem contra

Calliclem.

d Dem. cont.

Callip. p. 680.

n. 20.

e Dem. cont.

Tim. p. 659.

n. 25.

f Sch. Aristot.

137. E.

g Cont. Phor. p.

555. n. 7. v.

h Vide Cujaci-

um. Observ.

1.6. c. 15.

i This is rec-

orded among

the Lawes

which were

made for pri-

va e me. Ulp. in

Dem. p. 481.

k Vi. Casaub.

in Theoph.

p. 191. Char.

ὡς Ἀπονόει.

l Polit. l. 2. c. 3.

m Dem. p. 651.

n. 13.

n Ulp. in Dem.

p. 62. & 310.

καὶ ἡρώειας δ. Somewhat neer our proviso of giving the lye, left by taunting and reproachfull words, men be provoked to blowes. βλάβης δ. Is when any man receives damage and hurt in estate by another man. c As to turne water into his ground, by which it is anoyed; d To refuse to pay money where it is required, or to give it to another; e To promise to bear witness in a suit, and then not be present, by which the case fals, and the like. Παρεγκατάδικης δ. About pawnes, I suppose, which men that needed money were wont to leave with the usurers, f as cloathes, household stuffe, &c. Or about money put to the Banck, which the exchangers did employ to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of g Demosthenes. The word imports both. Αποπομπής δ. Of divorce. h For they were wont to put away their wives, in former time, upon discontent or hope of greater portions; which divorce they called αποπομπή, & as *Lysias* αποπμφιν on the husbands side, and on the wives απολφιν; for he did as it were turne her away, she was said to forsake him. Καλώσεις δ. Of ill usage of Parents, as not releiving them if they were poore. Of wives against husbands, of Pupils against Tutors. Κλοπής of theft, after what manner soever. Which if it were by day, was not capitall, but by night was deadly. Χρέας δ. Such as our Act of Parliament hath allotted for extortion, it being by i Law provided in *Athens* that none should take too much use, although once allowed by *Scion*, that any might make the best of his money: which he termes κείσιμων ἀργυρίων. Of usury I shall speak more in the Chapter of money. Συμβολαίων δ. When men had bargained and would not stand to it. l *Aristotle*. Δίγμα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡς συμβολαίων. Σαυθήνης ὡς ἐκδόσεως δ. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about dividing of inheritance between Man and Man, or between City and City, concerning free trading, as that of the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*. *Arist. Pol.* 3. cap. 6. or the like. m These *ῥωθήματα* were usually confirmed by oath to each other. Διαδικασίας δ. n a contention

tion about bearing office, in which they seek to have a time appointed, when a man shall enter into it. For the discharge whereof they are to prove him fit. *Επιδοσίζε δ.* When parents died and left their daughters inheritrices, the kinred was wont to sue each other, to make it appear who was nearest joyned in blood, that he might Marry her. Hence a Virgin <sup>o Pollux. l. 3.</sup> to whom an inheritance falls is called *ἐπιδοίκα*, that is, *Contr-* <sup>c. 3. p. 136</sup> *versa*. *Μισώσεως δίκη δ.* About letting of Houses. (For *Herodotus* termes that *ἐκδοδίκην*, which other Greek writers *μισώτω*, it is as well to set to hire, as to take to rent, *ἀμισθῶν* and *ἀπομισθῶν*, to let out. Which they often did for want of Mony, which that they might obtaine the quicker, they wrote over their dore as we use to doe, *This House is to be let*. Which Custome *Menedemus* in (p) *Terence* expresse--*Inscripsi illico*, <sup>p Heaut. Act. 1. Sc. 1.</sup> *ÆDES MERCEDIS*) This Writ was properly against Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of yeares, such as immediatly is before spoken) who having taken the charge upon them of Tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore made known to the *Archon* that such a house was to be let, he then put it out upon some pledge for security. But if the house were let under the yearly rent it could bring in, or was suffered to remaine void of a Tenant, to the losse of the Pupil, then was it lawfull for any man to sue the Guardian in the *Archon's* court, upon a Writ of *μισώσεως δίκη*. *Επιδοσις*. I have observed it to have been a custome among the Ancients, when they perceived themselves to draw near to death, to call for some one, to whose care they would commit their children, and delivering them into their hands, beseech them to have a tender eye over them, and to provide for them what should be most convenient: such as *Oedipus* in q *Sophocles* entreats of *Theseus* in the behalfe of his daughters. --*ὅτι φίλον καὶ ἐὰν Δὸς μοι χεῖρας* <sup>q Oedip. Col. p. 314.</sup> *οἷς πῶς ἀρχαίαν τύχην, ὅπως πεπαιδευτὴς πρὸς δὲ καὶ κατὰ ἴκον Μήποτι* <sup>p. 314.</sup> *πρεσβύτην τὰς δ' ἐκῶν, πλεῖν δ' ὅτ' αὖ Μίλλης φρονῶν δ' ἑυφρέεν* <sup>r Ter. Andr. Act. 1. Sc. 5.</sup> *τ' αὖτὰς αἰεὶ*. Not unlike is that of the *Comedian* under the



the person of *Chrysis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuition of *Pamphilus*.

*Accessi: vos semotæ: nos soli: incipit:*

*Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atque ætatem vides:*

*Nec clam te est, quàm illi nunc utraque inutiles*

*Et ad pudiciam, & ad tutandam rem fient.*

*Quod ego te hanc per dextram oro, & ingenium tuum,*

*Per tuam fidem, perque hujus solitudinem*

*Te obtestor ne abs te hanc segreges, non deseras.*

*Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco;*

*Sive hæc te solum semper fecit maxumi,*

*Seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus.*

*Te isti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:*

*Bona nostra hæc tibi committo, & tua mando fidei.*

*Hanc mihi IN MANUM DAT, mors continuo ipsam occupat.*

f Plut. in vita  
ejus.

t Demosth. p.  
724. II. 22.

u Pag. 465.

\* Lib. 2. c. 1.  
p. 670.

But among the *Athenians* the use was to nominate in their Testaments and last Wils, whom they would have to be Guardians. Which office after they had undertaken, if they should defraud the Orphans of their patrimonie, or any part thereof, they were sued with a Writ *emtorum* as (f) *Demosthenes* did sue his as soon as he came to age. But if the matter were not questioned within five yeares after the pupil was admitted among the number of men, by the (t) Law the Guardian could not be taxed. *Amscius*, of a Master against a Servant ingrateful for his manumission, not doing his duty to his Master. Because, as (u) *Demosthenes* witnesses, it was the nature of servants once made free, not only to be ingratefull, but also to hate their Masters most of all men, as those who had been conscious to their servitude. It was enacted therefore that whosoever was convicted of ingratitude should again be made a bondslave. \* *Valerius Maximus*. Age, quid illud institutum Athenarum, quam memorabile? quod convictus à patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis exuitur. The Romans did not only acquit them of the liberty of the City (which

(which the Athenians gave not) but made them also slaves, which punishment they terme(x) *Maximam capitis diminutionem*. Σίτϛ. If any man put away his wife he was to restore her portion again; if he refused he was ἐστ' ἐπὶ ὁδοῖς τοκοδορεῖ, that is, every moneth for one pound to pay nine oboli which the Atticks terme(y) ἡσάδου πρὸς τοκοδορεῖ, the renew of her dowry. The Writ whereby he was sued was Σίτϛ δίκην, for the repayment. (z) ἐνοικίϛ, If any went to Law, as claiming Title to an house, he was first to serve him that dwelled in it with a Writ ἐνοικίϛ, by which he demands his Rent for the time the defendant had the house, if it were for any parcel of land, there was a VVrit κρῆϛ given out, for the provent and fruit thereof; afterwards (in both cases alike) they proceeded to an ἐνοικίϛ δίκην, in which they claimed right and title to the house or land. Although in all these Trials the defendant were cast, yet could he keep justly either house or land: but if in a third triall, which they call ἐξέλιϛ, he were overthrown, he was compelled to relinquish his possession. This ἐξέλιϛ also is a Writ aginst those that would cast an inhabitant out of his house, it being termed from ἐξέλειν, to throw forth. It is also a VVrit of Execution against any overthrown in the Court, & fined a thousand Drachmes, which at such a day he was to pay; and if he laid it not down upon the nayle, there went forth a VVrit ἐξέλιϛ, to make enter upon the lands and possessions of him so cast. It is also a Right against any who will not suffer him, who hath bought any thing of the publike, to reap the fruit thereof. VVho either withholds any thing from the owner, or violently takes from any, &c. Εἰς δὲ δίκην. VVhen two had been partners in estates, and one of them would have a dividence made, if the other refused, he might be constrained to it by the VVrit. Βεβαιώσεωϛ, Because the Market place among the Greeks was the fittest to cheat & cosen in, as Anacharsis was wont to say, therefore the Athenians enacted that none should buy in the Market place, (to which the Scythian wiseman pointed likewise, saying, that they

x Justin Inst.  
l.1.T.16.

y Demost.p.  
733.

z Dem.pag.  
655.n 58.

a Vlp.in Dem.  
p.340.

b Apud Laer.  
p.74.

c Pollux. l. 3.  
c. 6. p. 385.

d In Aufon.  
Lect. l. 2. c. 6.

e In Theoph.  
Char. p. 312.

f Adversario-  
rum l. 4. c. 13.

g Don. Quod  
prius datur, ut  
reliquum red-  
datur. in Ter.  
Heaut. Act. 3.  
Sc. 3.

h Vide Dasque  
in Basil. Sel.

i Sermone 42.  
k Onomast. l.

8. c. 6. p. 334.  
l Demost. p.

718. n. 29.  
m Pand. Prio.

p. 100.  
n Dem. p. 620. n.

78.

Here followeth  
the termes pro-  
miscuous, private  
and publique  
which are pub-  
lique and lawfull  
for any to profe-  
quite. se. Pollux  
pag. 386.

they forbad to speak false, and yet did *ἐν τῇ ἀμειλίᾳ* (d' n' d' s) if any man had bargained for any thing, and another sued and doubted of the right of it, c he might require the seller to confirme the lawfulnessse of the thing sold, and maintaine it against all controvesie, otherwise the seller was liable to *Βεβαιώσεως δίκην*. For although in *Athens* they bought for the most part *Gracâ fide*, with ready Mony; as d *Scaliger* & e *Cassaubon* truly interpret it, f *Turnebius*, Representat â pecuniâ: yet sometime gave they Earnest onely to make the thing sure, which the *Greeks* and *Latines* call (g) *ἀρραβών*, from the h *Hebrew* אַרְבֵּן. This seems to me to have been the hundreth part of the Mony which was to be paid for the thing bought, as i *Stobæus* out of *Theophrastus*. Where you may read likewise that it was the custome, when any thing was to be sold, to bring a note thereof to the Magistrate some threescore daies before. *Εἰς ἑμμανῶν κατέσταιν*, For the laying open of any thing, concerning which was a suit in Law, by k *Pollux* his words I may conjecture, goods or Mony privily taken away. *Εξαρχέσεως δίκην*. VVhen any stould offer to take another mans servant, and make him free against the will of the Master, which the *Greeks* terme *Λυή δικαίως ἐλευθέρῃαν ἀφελέειν*. *Αμφισβήτησις* is a suit about neernesse of blood, in matter of inheritance, when a man dies without issue of his own body. *Παρεκκατολὴν*. When a man went to prove that he was to challenge the inheritance of right, as neer of blood, or upon some other conditions: from *παρεκαταλάμεν*; because he laid down the tenth part of the inheritance, which if he were cast in Law, he was to pay, if the cause were private, saies m *Budæus*: but if publique, the fift. n *Διαμαρτυρία*. VVhen any shall protest that an inheritance doth hangin controvesie, and is *ἐν δίκῃ*, as a true heir being still alive, of which thing chiefly treats the Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Leocrates*. *Ἐπισκεψις*. VVhen any shall try to falsifie the *Διαμαρτυρία*. *Ἀντιγραφή*. VVhen men went to Law about kinred, as as to prove themselves of such and such houses.

*Αμφισβήτησις*



Ἀπορίας. All strangers in Athens were compelled by the Law to get them Patrons (as my most worthy School-master, the glory of his time o Mr. Mathew Buxt hath observed, whom for honours sake I name) or else they might be questioned, & if they were convicted their goods were sold and put into the City Treasury. Ἀχαισίας of ingratitude against those who shewed not themselves thankfull to those who had well deserved of them. Ξενίας the same with ἀποστάσιον, when any will reckon himself among the number of Citizens who had never been made free, by which hee purchased imprisonment, until such times as there was a Court kept, and then he was sold. Μαρτυρία when a man is eye-witness of a matter. Ἐκμάρτυρία, When another witnesses from the report of him that saw it. Ψευδομάρτυριον falsewitness, which to prosecute in Law they term ἐπισκήψατο ψευδομάρτυρον. Ληπομάρτυριον, when one was eye witness, and promised to testifie, yet would not appear at the appointed time, which they were wont to compel them to do, which they call ληπύειν, after which citation the party was to be at Court, or forswear that he saw not the matter, or was not present, otherwise he was to pay a thousand drachmes, in which summe to be fined the Attick Lawyers give the appellation ἐκκλησιεύει. Δώρονχρησι, When the Judges were corrupted with Bribes. Δικασμὸς against those that did corrupt them. Ἀχίας of a man convinced of idleness, which once taken, Draco punished the delinquent with loss of the City priviledges. Solon, not unlesse he were thrice delinquent. Ληποναυτίς, When any of the Marriners ran away from their ships. Αναμαχίς, When the Marriners that stayed in the Ships would not fight, if occasion required. Ψευδύλεξις when any would falsely accuse, there was likewise against them a Writ ἐπιβελεύσεθ. Ψευδοκλητεία. Against those that unjustly cite to the Court. Δωροξενία when any is accused of encroaching into the number of Citizens, and gives gifts to escape free. Παράνομος, when

o In Epist.  
Dedic. suo  
Euchaitensi  
præfixa ad  
Richar. Cantuariensem  
Archiepiscopum.

any was accused of making a decree or Law contrary to former statutes. This accusation was called *ὑπομνησία*; because the accuser swore that it was against the Lawes, or unjust, or inconvenient for the Common-wealth. *δοκιμασία*, was an examination of the Magistrates whether they were fit to govern, or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Lust, and incontineny, whether they had not spent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their parents, or lead a life any other waies blamcable, whereupon they were discarded the priviledges of the Citty, and not suffered to plead, or speake publikely. *Εὐθύνη*, An account of the publique offices borne, laying out of mony, and dispatching Ambassages, made to the Tenne *Logistæ* (for the breach of which went out a Writ *Αλογίᾳ λόγον δίδοναι*, *Rationem reddere*) if concerning injuries given to the judges. *Προβολή* an accusation against those who are ill affected toward the Common-wealth, made by the decree of the people, and such as are well willers to the state. *Προβολαί* likewise are accusations against men injurious, *ἰξυερίσταντες*,<sup>a</sup> and such as are delinquent against their festivalls, as the oration of *Demosthenes* against *Midias*. *Προμοσσία*, An oath which the accuser tooke that he would justly accuse. (q) *Ἀντιμοσσία*, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. *Ἐξωμοσία*, an oath of Ambassadors or men chosen for state service, that by reason of sickness they cannot give attendance. They may do it by a proxie, if they please. It is likewise the oath of one called to witnesse, wherein he swears that he knowes nothing of the businesse. *Ἀπομοσία*, when others shall swear that pretended weaknesse was only a shift to put off the burthen of publique office which the State laid on them. *Ῥωμοσία*, an accusation of a Law or decree unprofitable, against the motioner, as above said. *Παραγραφή*, & *Ἰδραΐσσεια*, when a man shall object a case not to be entred rightly, that the writ ought to be such, and such, & not as it is. *ex.gr.* for a man that runs away from the Army, which is *λείπεσθαι*, and I accuse him  
of

<sup>a</sup> Lib. Arg.  
Midianam.  
<sup>q</sup> Ulpian in  
Dem. 226.

of leaving his ranck, to wit *ληποταξία*, or objection of the time past, within which space the suit was to be commenced, or that it should be handled in such a Court, and not in such; as wilfull Murther in *Areopagus*, not *Palladium*: by which evasion if the case fell, it was termed *ἀρχαῖος*. *Ἀρχαῖος*, when he that is sued puts a Bill against the plaintiff in like manner. But if the defendant (I call *ἀντιστασίαν* so) were cast, he payed *ἐπιβεβίασεν*. *ῥ. Μη ἔτα*, when a man is summoned to answer before the Arbitria controversie, if he swear that he is sick, or pretends a journey from home, and appears not at the day appointed, he was cast in *ἐρήμην*, *Eremodicio*, as if he scorned to come, or were obstinate, he ought within ten daies to sue out *μὴ ἔτα*, wherein he re- proved the sentence, and made it of no effect, so as it came to its first state againe. But if he could not obtaine a *μὴ ἔτα*, having before sworn that he would stand to the award of the Judges, their determination stood in full strength and power, & he was constrained to pay 1000 drachmes (as *ῥ. Ὑλ- In Dem. p. 340.* pian) which was the mulct appointed by the law: for the discharge whereof he put in good security. *Ἀντασχεῖν δίκην*; When any was absent from the Court, or heard not his name called by the Crier to answer thereunto, he was fined, as conscious of *Eremodicion*, and if within the space of two Moneths he did not renew the suit (which is *ἀντασχεῖν δίκην*) he was sure to pay the fine. *Ἐνστικτὴ δίκη*, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited, & publicly sold, somewhat as debt to him; or say that part belongs to him, the state would narrowly search into it, which thing they term *ἐνστικτὴ δίκη*. *Πρόκλησις*, is a citing of on before the *Archon* in controversy about inheritance, or a virgin left inheretrix. Now if the plaintiff did not warn the defendant *ἔπιβεβίασεν*, the suit dyed, and such actions are called *ἀπρόκληται δίκαι*. *ῥ. Πρόκλησις*, is as letting a case fall, or dissolving it upon some wirtnesse, oath or confession extorted by torments, & the like. *Ἐφεσις*, is an appeal from one Court to the

*Dem. 334.*

*In Dem. p. 340.*

*Dem. p. 623.*



the other, as from the Senate to the people, and from the people to the Senate againe, or from their Judicatories at home to some forrainers in another country. Ἀτίμητον δίκην when there is no more fine laid upon a man than what his adversary did ἐπιγράφειν, write down at the lower end of his Inditement; of which custom somewhat hath before been spoken. Βολίται δίκην, Against such as stole Oxe-dung out of their neighbours lands; whence of those that are put in the

\* Aristoph. Sch.  
p. 3. 28 Lactius  
in vita.

Court for triviall matters the Proverb ἢ Βολίται δίκην. Ἀσεβείας of impietie against their gods, as Aristotle for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Acharenenses*, which he engraved on a statue at *Delphos*. For revealing mysteries, or imitating them, as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted he was put to death; as one the contrary the accuser if he got not the better. Πεδόσιας, of being false to the state, the punishment was death, and after that, that they should be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. \* Ἀρχαίς, If any

\* Dem. cont.  
Theocr. pag. 7.  
13. n. 76. 77.

owed to the City Treasury, and his name were registred, and before the discharge of the mony his name were blotted out, they sued him before the *Thesmotheta ἀρχαίς*, but if his name was never entered, he was prosecuted by an ἐνδείξις. Μεταλλικαί proper only to such as dealt in the Mines; like to the Stannaries in the County of *Cornwall* my Country, and *Devonshire* her sister. \* Lyable to this Court were

x Dem. cont.  
Pant. p. 567. n.  
51, 52.

they who should thrust any man from his worke, who should digge within another mans liberties, who should bring weapons thither, I suppose to take away Minerals by violence, who should kindle any fire in the Mines, &c. Who should offer to take away the props that upheld the weight of the incumbent earth, which to doe was death, as γ *Plutarch* tels us. There was likewise ἀρχαίς μεταλλικαί against the labourers in the Mines, who if they intended to begin a new worke were to acquaint the overseers apointed for that end by the people, that the four and twentieth part of the new coine might come to the publike Treasury. Now if any

y In vitis De-  
cem. Rhet p.  
453.

presumed

med to work who had not made it known to the officers,  
 it was lawful for any to accuse him ἀχάρεσ μεταλλν. Αφορμῆς  
 δ. About mony put out to the mony changers. 2 For ἀφορμῆς Argum.  
 among the Atticks is the same that ἐθίμ in the Lawyers of Phorm. Orat.  
 latter time, in *Jure Græco, Rom.* Sometimes indeed they used P. 554.  
 ἀφορμῆς for means and sustenance, α φορολή εἰς τὸ ζῶν. Κα- a Sch. Eurip.  
 ταδικῶς & καταδικασάμενος have this difference, that b κατα- b Med. p. 368.  
 δικῶς is the Judg that gives sentence, καταδικασάμενος is he b Ulpian in  
 that put in the controversie, to be the means that the sen- Med. p. 368.  
 tence past against the defendant. c Ἀρεσις is when a man is c Idem in  
 deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to discharge Dem. p. 450.  
 all; and therefore desires the people that a part thereof  
 might be remitted.



LIB.





# LIBER QVARTVS.

*De Ritibus Nuptialibus, & Amoris.*

CAP. I.

*De Venere & Cupidine.*



HE People of *Athens* had their habitation too near the Sea, to keep their affections far from her that rose of the *Foam*. For that they were devoted to the service of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein she was courted, and the over favourable name of *ἑταῖρα* will sufficiently testifie. One of those Temples was for *Venus*. *Ποικιλία* (*a se diis placet*) a name better becoming one of the Muses, <sup>b</sup> or the play with the ball, than her: and the other, for *Venus Πάνδημος*. Which two names put me in mind of an excellent saying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning κάλλος ἑρμῆιον, & κάλλος πάνδημον. Δύο γὰρ ἐγὼ νομίζω κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κάλλος πλανᾶσθαι, τὸ μὲν ἑρμῆιον, τὸ δὲ πάνδημον, ὥσπερ τὰ κάλλος αἱ χρῆται ἐκείνου. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἑρμῆιον ἀχθεῖται τῷ θνητῷ κάλλει δεδμένον, καὶ ζητεῖ τὸς ἑρμῆιον παρὰ τοῦ φθίνου. Τὸ δὲ πάνδημον ἐρριπταί κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐνχορῶνται περὶ τῆς σώματος. A saying good enough for a Christian, and a Bishop, such as *Snidas* reporteth him to have been. But à di<sup>o</sup> verticulo. The sacrifices of the first Temple, were Ἀσνότες, with a little more state and chastity then became her; but those of the last, ῥαδιερῆστες, as *casie*, and as wicked as her self:

<sup>a</sup> *Pausanias.*

<sup>b</sup> *ἑταῖρα*, a Play so called



self: For every farthing Strumpet, might by Solon's owne appointment prostitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the Κεραμικὸς, *c* or the Σκίεον (those Καπηλεία *Ag-c* Pausanias. *εὐδίσια*) or any other of the places abused to lust. Nay those *sinks*, *d* besides places for the purpose, they had garments also *d* Cloacæ, for the purpose, and flowers on the garments too, Τὰ Ἀϊ-δνὰ, *floridas vestes*, apparel fit for such *Flora's* as wore them. The Rites of her service the Athenians are said to have received frō the Phœnicians, the Phœnicians from the Cyprians, the Cyprians from the Assyrians. *Fides pnes Authorem c sit.* Thee Cœl. Rhod. fashion of her Picture they had from the Cyprians (*viz.*) with a head, and all like a man as far down as the girdle, and all the rest like a woman (to shew shee had a place in the Ditches too *f* as well as in the Sinks, and patroniz'd lust *f* Inter Socra- to either of the Sexes) insomuch that many have been scru- ticos notissima- pulous whether they should call her *Deum* or *Deam*; for fossa cinædos. Juven. Sat.2. there is one that sayes

— *Pollentemque Deum Venerem.* Which Macrobius himself commends for the best, and therefore in Virgil. *Æn.* 2. v. 632. reads

*Discedo, & ducente Deo flammam inter & hestes*

*Expeditur* — and not *Dea*, and so Aristophanes calls her Ἀπεδύτωρ, in the masculine gender. But, now this makes more work, & therefore (to plaister two walls with one potfull of plaistring) they made it a custom, *ei sacrificiū \* facere viros* \* Philochorus, *cum veste muliebri, Mulieres cū virili. Quod eandē & Mas, & cited by Macro- Fœmina æstimaretur,* for the men to sacrifice to her in *womens ap- bius. parell,* and women in *mens*. If it be so, you may say *Aphroditus* for *Hermaphroditus*, if you please. I read of no such thing concerning *Minerva*: onely the *g* Poet (because shee was *g* Aristopha- such a *Virago*) honours the Manhood of the Goddess with *nes Act. 5. sc. a τῷ θεῷ*; as Theocritus *h* does *Hecate*, with *ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις*; 2. an appellative of the masculine gender: Nor is it enough, *h* In *φάρμα-* that the Mother is thus religiously woo'd, and adored. but *χιδ.* 5. the blind pauntry Boy will be crying for a Temple too. And if

*Her*

Her due be a Cow, certainly His cannot be less than a Calf, neither was it.

Ῥεξω πόρνον ἔργον καὶ αὐτῇ βῆν Ἀφροδίτῃ.

sayes Theocritus: and *Amori Litari* to sacrifice to *Amor* or *Cupid* is common in *Apuleius*. Me thinks he might have been content to sit still in his Mothers Temple ( where he was lovely Pourtraicted by *Zenxcs*, and crowned with flowers ) and have soard \* with his wings no higher. But the Temple of Ἐως and Ἀνέρος in the way to the *Academy*, and the famous title of Ψιδυρῶ, do more then whisper what cause he had to be so proud, and how amorous this People has been:

\* *Alatus*.

## CAP. II.

### De Pad-rastia.

i Ep. ad Rom.

c.1. v.26.

k Ibid. v.27.

**T**Oomit the Τεβιάδας and the Abomination of the Women one with another changing τὴν φυσικὴν ἰχέρειαν, εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν, the natural use into that which is against nature, give me leave to speak a little of their Παιδερασμία, or παιδοπαι, and the Ἀχμοσύνη, k practised by Men upon their own Sex. The first that ever taught

— *Amorem*

*In teneros transfere mares* —

(if we may beleeeve *Ovid*) was *Orpheus*. How good a Scholar of his the Roman was, *Lippis & Tonforibus notum*. And for the Greeks, 'tis reported by *Herodotus*, that the *Persians* deriv'd the infection from them; which I am apt enough to believe, when I read those words of *Cornelius Nepos*, *Laudi in Græcia ducitur adolescentulis, quā plurimos habere Amatores*, in one place, and those concerning *Alcibiade*, in another. *Ineunte adolescentiâ amatus est à multis more Græcorum*, not to tell you how he himself afterwards was more than *Pathicus* in that double- Cappa-rongery as well as *m Pausanias*, or *n Socrates*, or any of his Wag-tail \* *Sectaries*. The *Cretians* (whatever *Strabo* commends of that government) if *Aristot.* say true, made a law for toleration of it. The *Megaren's* had

l Initio lib. de  
Excell. Imp.  
m *Amil.*

Prob.

\* *Plato* in

*Symp.*

n *Socratici*

κινῶντες.

o *Athenæus*.

had their *Kissing-matches*, when he that could kisse sweetest was led away in pomp *Corollis onustus*; only thus much is said in commendation of the *Lacedemonians* & the *Athenians*, that they confined the Lust to the person of a slave. Nay p *Ælian* <sup>p L. 3. Var. Hist. c. 12.</sup> (who makes bold to vary from other authors in several relations) goes farther, and saies *Συμπαύτης γὰρ ἔρωι Ἀχαιοὶν ἔχουσιν*, but how true that is, I know not, I am sure their *παιδικὰ*, and *ἡ παιδικὰ ὕμνοι* tell in plain song what they loved: though I confesse, I have found no such feats among them, as that of *q Achilles* in Murthering *Troilus* for refusing to <sup>q Lycoph.</sup> submit to his lust. One word more & I have done. He that was inspired with such a love as this, (as if they had used the trick or *r Pyramus* and *Thisbe*) among the *Lacedemonians* had the name of *ἑσπνιῶν* or *ἑσπνιῶν* or rather *ἑσπνιῶν*, as <sup>r Inque vices fuerat captus anhelitus oris.</sup> *Callimachus* hath it.

*Μιμνέτω δ' εἰς πνιῶν ὁ πρὸς Κέρει ἴσι.*

By which word (saith the *Etimological Dictionary*) is denoted, *ἡ δὲ τῆς ἑρωτικῆς* (or rather *ἑρωτικῆς*) *εἰσπνεύων*, one inspired, shall I say, or beloved; for so signifieth the word at *Sparta* (*viz.*) to love a boy so p *rdite* as to blow in his lower end, (as we say) or spit in his mouth, or give him *Mansum ex ore*, take the Authors own words for't in the place above quoted. *Ἀυτοὶ γὰρ δέονται τῇ ἐρωτικῇ εἰσπνεῖν αὐτοῖς. Λακεδαιμονίων δ' ἔστιν ἡ φωνὴ ἐρωτικῇ δέειν λέγεσθαι*, and so *Hesychius* saies of *εἰσπνεῖν* too, *εἰσπνεῖ μὲν ἐρωτικῇ, πνέει δὲ αἵματι*. This was all (as he sayes) or (as I say) it should have been all; for a man may love his house wel enough, though he doe not ride upon the ridge. However, I must confess they had so much care still of the *Commonwealth*, notwithstanding their private pleasures, as not to give a voice to one whome they knew to be guilty of so much *Mollities*, as to scratch his head with one finger. Insomuch that if a man had sued for an Office to give a testimony of his *virtue*, and Manlike disposition, hee was fain to lift up his Arms, and shew his hair in his Arm-pits.

— *Χειρὶ τοῦ πνιῶν.*



Ἐξωμυπῆσαι δ' ἔπειν βραχίονα. Saies *Aristophanes*.  
And good reason for this practice, for,

*Dura per brachia seta*

*Promittunt atrocem animum* ~ saies *Persius*. And therefore the Woman that desired to be taken for a Man, thought this the best Argument she could use

† Apud Ar.  
Soph.

— Πρῶτον μὲν γ' ἔχω τὰς μαχάλας

Λοχμῆς δαυυτέραι.

Whereas on the contrary, those that had the fore-head to seem, as they were, effeminate, used the same tricks, which the Romans are said to have used (for which service they had their *σποντακισαῖς*, or *alipilarios*) to pull away their hair, and be as smooth as they could.

† Achil. Tat.  
Lib. 2.  
u Metam. 1. 11.

But I have said too much of so odious a Love, as should not indeed be named among us. I will now proceed to speak of a chaster *Venus* (notwithstanding that *Menelaus* in † *Achilles* preferred the former) *Qua primis rerum exordiis sexum diversitatem generato amore sociavit*, as † *Apuleius* said in his Prayer.

### CAP. III.

#### *De Amore Mulierum.*

**W**Hen first they list themselves into the service (for *Militat omnis amans*, and *Cupid* is painted like a Souldier) some of them made it such a solemn business, as to be formally initiated, like so many Priests.

† Achil. lib. 2. *Leucippe*. Εὐὶ οἷ βόβλῳ κατιμύθη δὲ Ἐρωτα, saies *Ismenias* x to x Eustath. 1. 5. his Mistressse, alluding (it may be) to such Books as the old fellow brought forth to *Apuleius*, *Literis ignorabilibus pra-notatos*.  
† Hieroglyphicis.

Well it seems *Venus* had her *μυστήρια* too, as well as *Ceres*, for her Priests, though they were not under an enjoined silence, as the others were, yet the greatest part of their talking was under the Rose.

*Conscium*

*Conscius omnis abest Nutu signisque loquuntur.* And therefore <sup>a</sup> *Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab. 4.* *Cupid* had not the name of a *Whisperer*  $\psi\iota\sigma\upsilon\rho$  for nothing, seeing speaking through the teeth, and whispering through the walls, like *Pyramus* <sup>b</sup> and *Thisbe*, was so commonly used by his followers. Such as that  $\psi\pi\omega\epsilon\gamma\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \beta\omicron\eta$  in *Euripides*, <sup>c</sup> *Titinnius.* *succrotilla vocula. Faminina fabulare* <sup>c</sup> *succrotilla vocula*, saies <sup>d</sup> *Eustath.* one.  $\text{Ἰσμενὲς δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἐπαίετο}$ , <sup>d</sup> saies another, of *Ismene* And not only their words, but every thing they did was by stealth; for what were all their pleasures but *surtat*? What is *Cupid* <sup>e</sup> but a *Thief*. No wonder then if Lovers <sup>e</sup> *Theocritus* used to worship the Moon; and the Night be the blinde saies he stole boyes Holy-day.  $\text{ἡ κλειπὴν γὰρ ἡ νύξ}$ , sayes one (like that of honycombs. *Id. 20.* the *Scoliaſt* upon *Theocritus*  $\text{δὲ γὰρ κλειπόμενοις ἔπαιον Κυρῆς, καὶ νυκτὸς}$ ) for the greatest part of their employments were not able to look upon the Sun. Yet *Pindar* as I take it, says the custom was, for the Man to worship the Sun, and the Woman the Moon. It may be the mans aime <sup>g</sup> was to have the *Suns* help in bringing *Adulteries*, and the *Womans* the *Moons*, in bringing her *h* children to light. <sup>g</sup> *Venerem cum Marte deprehendit. Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab. 6.*

Besides these,  $\text{Θεὸς ὁ Πᾶν ἐπαίετο}$  <sup>i</sup> *Pan* had his worship too. But for any thing I can perceive (through some of them it may be, were of *Theocritus* his mind, <sup>h</sup> *Luna parturientibus adest. i* *Lengus in Pastoral. l. 2.*

—  $\text{Ὅ γὰρ Θεὸς διδὲ δυνάξεν}$  ) whatsoever they pretended to the *Band of Religion*, they took the liberty and looseness in such businesses to *swear* and *for swear*, as fast as they listed, whiles *Jupiter* stood by and laught -- *Perjuria ridet amantum.* infomuch that  $\text{Ἀρεσδίσσιος ὅρκος}$ , a *Love oath*, became but a proverb at last, as being accounted  $\text{ἐν ἀμφοτέρω}$ , not deserving punishment, if it were taken: nay if *Plato*, in *Ephebo*, say truth,  $\text{Ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἢ καὶ τὰ Ἀρεσδίσια, καὶ τὸ ἐπαρᾶν αὐτῶν ἑλθεῖν ἄρα θεῶν}$ , the Gods gave them leave: as having done *hæc eadem juvenes, the same themselves once: and none can play the k knave better than an Abbot that hath been a Monk.* <sup>k</sup> *French proverb.*

## CAP. IV.

*De Amoris Indiciis.*

Now to know whether such an one were in Love or not (though they say, *Love & the Cough can never be hid*) at the keeping of a Feast, they took special notice of the *untying of his Garland* (as we use to do of the Garter) making it a fore-runner of that of the *Zona*. But I take too much upon me to determine so soon of the reason; for 1 *Athenens* sayes it hath been a riddle a thousand yeares before his time, and propounded at their merry meetings, *διὰ τῆς παλαιῶν ἐὰν λυῖται σέφανθ, ἔστιν ἄριστος*, and he himself hath served up no less than eight other reasons: but I know never a one better than another to give you a taste. Another sign that they were in Love was the *tinkling of the Ear*, whence that of *Sappho* *βρυβεῦσι δ' ἀκοῇ μιν*, and *Catullus*,

——— *Sonitu suapte*

*Tintinant aures.* ———

To know whether the party lov'd did love again, they tooke a lease (whether of *Poppey*, or what it was I know not) they called it *πλέριον* *quasi δηλέριον* *ἐπὶ τῷ δηλωταί τ' οὐρίαν*) and putting it on the forefinger, and the thumb of the left hand (as our children use to do with us) struck it with the right. If it gave a crack they rejoiced, if not they gave a sigh; out alas!

\* *Οὐδὲ τὸ Τηλέριον ποτὲ μαστόμενοι παταίστην*; sayes

*in Aristoph.*  
*Schol. in Pace.*

*Theocritus Idyll. 3.* So m at their Feasts they had a trick, to fasten a long Itick in the ground, with another upon it (in the fashion of the cross Beam of a Ballance) with a pair of Scales hanging to it. Under the Scales stood a couple of Bowles filled with water, and under the water a statue of Brass, gilded and called by the name of *Μένης* (n once the name of a Servant.) Now the manner was for such as were in Love (with the same Woman as I think) and would willingly know their fortune who should carry it, to take each his

*in Id. in Avi-*  
*bas.*



his phiale of Brass (τὸν κρήαβον) to stand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he listed, with a sudden turne of the hand (ἀνάλω they call it, and thence κρήαβοι ἀγνώστοι) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remainder thus thrown they called λατῶ from λάταξ, the *clat* or the sound that it gave in the fall: Now he that could doe this so well, as to make his scale sink, and strike the image hardest on the head (εἰ μὲν γὰρ τῷ οἴνῳ, so that some of the Wine leapt out upon him, saith the Scholiast) presumed presently upon the love of his Mistress, and had his Κρηάριον or his Cake (the usual reward of victory in most of their playes) for his labour, sometimes they flung the liquor on the bare ground, and if it gave a good flash, it was counted as lucky for a Lover, as the *crack of the Lease*. Thus to drink and play, they called Κρηάβειζεν (as κρήαβος was the name of the cup and the play too) and seldom a drinking match without it,

Ἐπᾶρξ Κρηάβειζεν

Συβαειζεν

Ἴε ἱε κεραγεῖναι.

Saith the Poet. The invention of this *barbarous* Gamboll they are ashamed to own themselves, and therefore turn it off upon the people of *Sicily*. I might speak more of κρήαβος, were it either fitter for the present discourse, or not spoken of so largely, and by so many, as *Athenæus*, *Rhodiginus*, and others already. Let it suffice onely to have minded you of the folly so usual among Lovers in those times according to that of *Callimachus*

Ποιοὶ καὶ φιλέοντες ἀκόντιον ἦσαν ἔρζε

Οἶνοπόται Σικελίας ἀπὸ κυλίκων λάταξας.

## CAP. V.

## De Philtris &amp; incantamentis amatoriis.

**B**UT what if she could not be wooen over by fair means? was there then never an Arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a juggling trick to bewitch her? Yes; but first they must get something or other of hers into their possession, and work upon that, according to the Nurses advice to *Phædra* in wooing of *Hippolitus*.

Δεῖ δ' εἰς ἐκείνης δὴ τὴν τοῦ ποθέματος

σημεῖον, ἢ λόγον τιν' ἢ πῶς πλὴν ἐπὶ

λαβέτω. (Cura' φαι τ' ἐν δούτῳ μὲν χᾶεν.

Euripides  
Hipp.v. 512.

And if they could come to the sight of her, your *illices oculi* (in *Apuleius*) there's nothing like it for a fascination. ὀφθαλμὸν τινὰ βάσανον ἀνεσπάτατο, he threw a *sheepes eye* at her (saith \* *Heliodorus*) The proverb, that *Love comes in at the window, and goes out at the Door*, may not absurdly be understood of the *Eyes*, which *Maximus Tyrius* calls θυγάς τ' ψυχῆς, the Doors of the Soul, which seem to be the way and the passage by which the two loves go in and out. ὀφθαλμὸς δ' ὁδὸς ἐστίν, saith *Museus*: or if you will, the eyes of either party are a Torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the heart. ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνέπει τ' ἐρώτα, saith \* *Eustathius*, and so \* *Lucian* makes the *sight* the first step \* in *Cupid's ladder* of Love. To try therefore what this *Card* could doe, they would go to the house where she lived, and the fashion being for the Daughter δινοχοῖν to fill drink to the Stranger: (as *Scythenes* commanded his Daughter to doe to *Ismenias*) after the old folk had drunk, when it came to their Mistresses to drink to them, they observed at what part of the cup she drank, to be sure to drink at the same, according to that of the

\* Poet

\* Lib. 3.

\* in ερωσι.

\* Oculi sunt in  
amore duces.

\* Ovid. de  
Arte Am. lib. I.

Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis

Pocula; quâque bibit parte Puella, bibe.

Forsooth

Forsooth they thought thus to have a kifs *mediatè* at the second hand waisted over in the cup *καταπίνειν τὸ φίλημα*, *Aristanetus* calls it, not to *kiss the cup*, but to *cup the kifs*.

*Nam transmissa tuis ad me fert suavia labris*

*Ille Calix.*

Saith *Scaliger* translating that verse

Πορθμῶς γὰρ ἐκείνῳ γὰρ καλεῖται ὁ φῖλος. Ὁ δὲ τὸ φίλημα. Such a kifs they used to call ἀποδλυσμαῖον φίλημα. (*missivum osculum*, or a kifs conveyed in a cup, like words in a *Letter*) as both *Achilles* and *Eustathius* doe. And by this time they have seen whether they can doe any thing or nothing by the *eye*. Next they will try what they can doe with the *Tongue*, by *inchanting songs and tales*: or by the *Hand*, with *Gifts* and *Philittres*: ἐκ αὐτῶν πονῶν φίλων τε καὶ ἐπαδῶν, καὶ ὑγῶν, sayes *Xenophon*. 'Ιούξ more especially is the name of a Bird (whether it be *torquilla*, or *regulus*, or *passerculus*; the last is most likely because of its falacity) whose tongue they made use of to such purposes, putting it under the knap of her Ring with the paring of her nails.

And we can thank no body but *Juno* for such a naughty Bird, for having been formerly a Woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho* (of *Eccho* saies *Gallimachus*) because shee bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the same name; and of a making very sutable to her former condition, and the uses for which she serves. For (according to the *Scholiast* upon *Lycophron*) it is a Bird with a long neck & tongue, continually wagging both the head and the tail; and punished she is enough for her roguery; for (besides that way I told you of before) sometimes they ty'd her ἐκπνός ἔχῃ to a wheele (as I think) and charmed a charm as they whirled it round, sometimes (at least the entrails) to a ἔχῃ of wax, causing both together to consume in the fire. But what will you say, if all this while it bee nothing but an instrument pleasantly tun'd and playd? as some say it is, and that it is therefore commonly used.



used for any pleasant thing, or inticement. ἵσχυι ἐλκουαὶ ἢ παρ  
faies\* *Pindar*, or any other Magical Love toy, such as *Ungues*,  
muscles, wreathed fillets, hair, and bands of twisted wool,  
and divers other gambols of the same branne according to  
that which I have seen of *Lalins* an ancient Poet.

*Trochiscili, Ungues, tania*

*Aurea, Illices bitortila.*

With no stronger chains than those of *twisted wooll* (\*πλεκ-  
τὸν ἔειπεν \* *Plutarch* calls it) is *Saturn* reported to have been  
bound by *Jupiter* when he flung him down. I can rather  
beleeve that all the gods had *laneos pedes*, woollen feet, as the  
proverb sayes they had, than that any of them should have  
*Laneas pedicas* woollen fetters. And yet that dull and lazie  
old dotard, could be content to lye fast in those bands all  
the year long, till the Month *December*, when he had his li-  
berty, becaus of the *Saturnalia* which *Papinius* therefore calls  
*Saturni comped: m exolutum*: I refer you for the reason to *Ma-  
crobius Saturn. lib. 1. c. 8*. Though I beleeve they intended no  
other than a Magicall tye upon the affection of the party.  
Yet they seem to have made use of *wooll*, rather than any  
other thing, because it was so much in fashion in such kind  
of matters; for first, the girdle the woman used to wear,  
was made of *wooll*, twisted and tyed with an *Hercules*, or  
a *True-lovers* knot, not to be untied but in the *Geniall-  
bed*. Then the doors of the *Bride-house*, and the posts of  
the doores, were bound about with woollen filletings, and  
the Wife was to sit upon a fleece for a Cushion. Yet how  
they used this πλεκτὸν ἔειπεν, I cannot tell, whether they put  
it about the cup wherein the potion was given according  
to that, .

\*Σπῆσαν τὰν καλέβαιν τοιμηκῶ διδς ἄωτῳ.

Or about the Bay which they burnt, or in some other way,  
But thus much I have observed of their ordinary practises  
in such Rogueries (too common with the women in these  
times) that whatever was done to the thing which they  
used

\* *Nem. Od. 4.*  
vid. *Theoc.*  
*Pharmacentr.*  
*Lusistrata*  
prope finem.

\* not σεω-  
τὸν.

\* ἵσχυι πλζμ.

\* *Theocrit.*  
*Pharmacentr.*

used they imprecated the same, or the like, to the parties whom they imagined the things to represent. Thus

<sup>a</sup> *Althæa* burnt *Meleagar* out in the brand. Thus *Juno* tyed up <sup>a</sup> *Ovid. Met.*

<sup>b</sup> *Alemana's* womb, *Digitis inter se pectine junctis*. I know not <sup>lib. 9. fab. 4.</sup>

how. Thus <sup>c</sup> *Simetha* (to come nearer home) angry with <sup>b</sup> *Ovid. Met.*

*Delphis* for want of his love, would have scattered his bones <sup>lib. 9. fab. 5.</sup>

in the meal, burnt his flesh in the Bay, melted him away in <sup>c</sup> *Theoc.*

the wax, or have had him tumble to her door in the Brazen <sup>Pharmac.</sup>

Bowle, and have killed him with kindnesse. Every one

of which practises was attended with prayers to *Hecate* and

the *Moon* for successe, as things that were fit to bee done

neither by day, nor above ground. Infinite more were the tricks

they used to make a man to love them, such as <sup>d</sup> *Philostratus*

speaks of in his *Epistles*, τὸ δ' οὐκ ἴον καὶ ὁ κηρὸς, καὶ τὸ ταλαίνιον, <sup>d</sup> *Lib. 8. l. 68.*

καὶ οἱ ἐπιχρῆμοι ὄφεις, καὶ αἱ χυσοὶ πίδα, καὶ θαλάσσι, καὶ λειπαρῆαι,

καὶ λείψος φάρμακα. The κηρὸς may be thought to be the *Cerussa*,

τὸ ταλαίνιον, otherwise ταλαίνιον, or ταλαίνιον, *Multicia*,

or *Bombycia*, a-kind of <sup>e</sup> *σινδωνὲς ἑνδύα*, or a garment that <sup>e</sup> *Pollux.*

hid the body so that it might be seen, *lucet sic per Bombycina*

*corpus*, saies <sup>f</sup> *Martiall*, such Women used it. <sup>f</sup> *Lib. 8. Ep. 6.*

<sup>g</sup> *Quæ tenui sudant in cyclade, quarum*

*Delicias, & Panniculus bombycinus urit.*

<sup>g</sup> *Juvenal.*

*Sat. 6.*

It had the name ἀπο δ' ταλαίνιον χρίσας καὶ ὄφεις, saith <sup>h</sup> *Pol-*

*lux*, Ἐπιχρῆμοι ὄφεις, are like to be σαῦραι *Lacerta*, such as she <sup>h</sup> *Lib. 7. c. 17.*

in *Theocritus* would have used in a potion, but I had rather <sup>i</sup> *Petulant, ma-*

take them for the ὄφεις worn about the wrists τὸν κηρὸν: <sup>i</sup> *didumque Ta-*

and the golden fetters I suppose to be stronger than wool- <sup>i</sup> *rentum.*

len. But besides all these there was ἀνθηβολεῖν, feats to be

done by the throwing of an Apple. *Cydonium malum* I mean,

reported to grow in the garden of *Venus*, and used at wed-

dings (as shall be shewn hereafter.) Thus when *Cydippe* was

sitting in the Temple of <sup>i</sup> *Diana*, *Acontius* threw in his Apple <sup>i</sup> *Aristan. lib.*

with this inscription, Μὰ τῷ Ἀρτίμῳ Ἀκοντὶ γαμῆμαι, or if <sup>i</sup> *Ep. 10.*

you had rather have the Latine

*Juro tibi sane per mystica sacra Diane,*

X

Me

*Me tibi venturam comitem sponsamque futuram.*

And so made her think shee took, when she did but read the oath. And thus \* *Hippomanes* threw back *Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples. Nay, if they bit off a peece, and threw it, it was enough: which made k *Philenis*, being jealous of her sister *Thelxinoe* complain of *Pamphilus* his throwing a peece of Apple in her lap. The l woman of *Thessalie* are especially noted for cunning women at this work, being able (as he saies) *μαφεύειν ἑτάς, ὥστε μὴ πρὸς ἐτέραν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρατειῶν ἀναίεν γυναικα, &c.* And so for the women of *Egypt* (I think the sex hath still had the Monoply of Magick) however the *Egyptian* m Souldier came to mistake in the *Dosis*, when he gave *Lucippe* the potion. For instead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her clean out of her wits, as *Casonia* did her Husband *Caligula*, with an *Hippomanes*. Those φιλῆρα, or Love-potions, were commonly made of the juyce of such herbs as disposed the body to Venerie, such as the *σαυλίνη* (rendered *Pastinaca*) called by way of excellency, τὸ εἰλέειν, ὅτι δευραπικὸν εἰς τὰ καλ' Ἀρεοδίτω, saies *Eustathius*. *Plutarch* (if I mistake not) in his *γαμικὰ δαηνέλιμα*, expresses his dislike of these courses. But what? was there never a way to unwitch the party again? (for I hard of some that can do this, who cannot do the other) yes, either by taking counterfeit-physick (as *Leucippe* did) or by washing it away in the River *Selemnus*, as (*Pausanias* sayes) they used to doe in *Achaia*; or else by Sacrifices or Charms, according as they imagined the cause. Whence those words of the \* Nurse to *Myrrha* incited by the Furies, & not by *Cupid*, to the wanton love of her owne Father.

*Sen Furor est, habeo quod Carmine sanet, & herbis:  
Sive aliquis nocuit, Magico lustrabere ritu:  
Ira Deum sive est, sacris placabimus iram.*

\* *Ovid. Met.*

l. 10. fab. 11.

k *Aristen. lib.*

1. op. 25.

l *Achil. Tat. l. 5*

*Thessala ven-*

*dit Philtra.*

*Juvenal.*

m *Corgias a-*

*pud Tat. l. 4.*

n *Suetonius.*

\* *Ovid. Met. l.*

10. fab. 9.



## CAP. VI.

*De Usitato more significandi amorem.*

**I**F the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a naturall heate (as indeed the soul is naturally inclined \* *ὡς περ αἰδάνει, καὶ διανοεῖται, καὶ μνησσύειν, ἔτω καὶ φι-* \* *Plut. in Scælon.* λειν to the love of another) you will not think what a tender care those Græcian Women had of their Sweethearts. Inſomuch, that if you call to mind ſome of their choiceſt expreſſions thereof (eſpecially that of *Ariadne* to *Theſeus*) you cannot but be of \* *Plutarchs* mind, in approving \* *In vita Theſ.* the definition given by ſome of the old Philoſophers, who ſaid that it is, *ἴσως ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἀνδράσιν καὶ γυναῖκας νέω,* Not to tell you, that ſometimes they ſent a wooing to the men, pray take but a taſt of their cuſtomes in this particular of expreſſing their love. To trim up their bodies as they did their *ων* <sup>a</sup> with flowers (like a *May-maid*) or hang up Garlands at their doors (or *πρὸς τὰς θύρας* the parts of the houſe <sup>a</sup> *Euſtath. Iſm.* expoſed to fight when the doors were open, *ἀδελφώμεν ἑνεκα τῶν παλίωντων*, ſayes *Heſychius*) was an ordinary careſſe, though indeed (as <sup>b</sup> *Athenaus* ſaies) they intend it chiefly to the honour of *Ερως*. *Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρωτος ἀρχαῖον ἀγάλμα, τέτε* <sup>b</sup> *L. 15.* *ἢ γὰρ ὅντα πάλιν οἰκῇσιν στεφανῶσι*, as making the body of a Sweetheart the Image, and his houſe the Temple of Love. The tokens they uſually ſent were Garlands and Roſes, *πρὸς στεφάνια καὶ κατὰ πόδα πέμπτει* (ſaies *Petala* to *Simæon* in *Alciphron*) and (it may be) ſometimes bitten pieces of Apples, *μῦλα ἀποδεδημένα* (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with thoſe expreſſions in faſhion among the Romans when they ſate at Table, viz. leaving drink in the cup, and giving morſels of meat, ſuch as <sup>c</sup> *Martila* would have <sup>c</sup> *L. 6. Ep. 7.* *Pontia* ſend him, rather then a whole legge, or the like, or ſuch as <sup>d</sup> *Ovid* ſpeaks of, <sup>d</sup> *Amor. l. 1. El. 4.*

*Si tibi fortè dabit, quos pręguſtaueris ipſe,*

*Rejice libatos illius ore cibos.*

e De vitã  
cleric. ad  
Nepotian.

But I must tell you S. Hieroms censure, *de gustatos cibos blandosque, ac dulces literulas sanctus amor non habet*, it ought not to be so amongst you. Symmachus upon those words of the Birds in Aristophanes — *καὶ πῶς ἐρωσι σὺν ἑαυτοῖς*, saies they were wont to gratifie one another with Birds, such as Doves, and the σίην, and the like. But these expressions I weigh but little, when I observe that scarce a Wall or a Tree, where ever it were (ὅπως πύχνη saith the Scholiast) was passed by without writing thereon the name of the party, in this form *ἰδεῖνα καλός*, or *καὶν* & *καλός*, for the word *καὶν* among the Grecians signified *amatum*, a Womans word, like *τὴν* in Theocritus,

f Diog. Laer.  
in Diademo.

Ἰουξ ἔλκε πο' τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τ' ἀνδρα.

Instead whereof (say some) you shall read  $\kappa\eta\mu\ominus$  in the *Comedian in Vespis*, but I see no such need of a correction, for hee speaks of the Lawyer that was so much in love with the imployment of the Court, that the  $\kappa\eta\mu\ominus$  <sup>a</sup> (the cover of the pot for the *calculi*) or one such thing or other ran still in his mind, and therefore (saies he)

— ἀν' ἰδρυγῆ πε γεγραμμένον

Τὸν πειλάμπετος ἐν θυρᾷ δῶμον καλὸν,

Ἰὼν παρέχευε κημὸς καλὸς.

In like manner the *men* dealt with the names of their *Mistresses*, which they wrote sometimes upon the very leaves of the trees according to that of *Callimachus*,

Αλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φύλοισι κακομεδέα πάντα φέροις

Γράμματα, Κυρίως τὴν αἰς ἐρέωσι Καλῶ.

Let on the leaves so many letters lye,

As my *Cydippe Fair* may signifie.

which puts me in mind of what *Lucian* in his *ΕΡΩΤΗΣ* saies  
of one that was ready to die with the love of *Cnidia Veneris*.

Τοῖς Θ' αἰσῶν ἡμεῶν, καὶ τὰς καλὰς δὲν δρε φλοῖος Ἀφροδίτης  
καλῶ ἐκίρυσεν, not a wall now but what was engraven with, nor  
a bark of a tree but what proclaimed VENUS FAIR. How

a Vid. p. 118.

glad would they have been, if they could have written them upon paper, and have worn them in their Hats as we do : but no wonder they did as they did, having a copy written to them by Nature (for

— *Inscripti nomina rerum*

*Nascuntur flores* —) and an example given them by *Apollo* himself, who when he turn'd *Hyacinthus* into a flower of the same name to keep his memory alive when he was dead ; not contented with that,

*Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit, & Ai, Ai,*

*Flos habet inscriptum* —

*Ovid. Met.*

*Lib. 10. Fab. 5*

Thus was the memory of *Ajax* preserved, and one half of his name, as the same Author hath it.

*Littera communis mediis puerque virque*

*Inscripta est foliis: hæc nominis, illa quærelæ.*

*Lib. 13. Fab. 1.*

But the vehement love of *Moschus* to *Bion* his deceased friend thought those lamenting interjections too little, unlesse there were written a *Κεῖν* & *καλὸς* besides upon the same flower.

Νῦν ἔδεικνυται λαλεῖν τὰ σα' ῥάμματα, καὶ πλέον Ἀι Ἀι

Λάμβανε Κοῖς πτελοῖσι, καλὸς τεθνήκε μελικτὴς,

*καλὸς* for him, and *καλὴ* for her was sure to be written, for never seem'd *Mistress* foul, and *Prison* fair. But for her part if

she were *Κυανόφρων*, or had black eye-brows she was counted fair indeed, according to that of *Gregori Nyssen*, καὶ ὁφθαλμοῖς *Theocrit.*

μέλαιναν περικεχυμένῳ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ, infomuch that *Jul. Pollux*

saies, they had a trick μελαίνεσθαι τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς to black them: or

if she were somewhat big of stature; and therefore *Aristotle*

in his *Rhetorick*, puts τὸ μέγεθος, as part of the Ἀρετὴ τῆς

βώματος, as he doth σωφροσύνην καὶ φιλεργίαν, for the most com-

mendable virtues of her mind. What the women of other

times esteemed to be the τὸ κάλλος of a man I know not. It

seems in *Aristotle's* time it was counted most commendable,

τὸ ὡς τις πόντος χεῖσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τίς τε πρὸς δρόμον

καὶ πρὸς βίαν ἠδὲν ὄντα ἰδεῖν πρὸς ὑπόλασιν. But I have talkt



Seneca Ep.

115.

\* Tacit.

long of Love, or of *Robin-hood*, that never shot in his bow. I fear the Reader will blame me, for casting away so much oyl and labour upon such a subject, and (it may be) give his censure, that *Oratio est vultus animi*. But those that know me will distrust his Physiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper. However now I am in, I will not stick but *propere sequi quæ piget inchoare*, \* and proceed to the Nuptials themselves.

## CAP. VII.

## De Nuptiis.

THE parties being both agreed, unless the Wench were as yet *Acreba* (as *Varro* calls her) or *αφύλη ὁμαλίζουσα*, but a sower grape (as *Eustathius*) and not yet ripe) *Matura viro* (in the words of *Virgil*) they were thus betrothed and yoked together. The man did in the presence of witnesses, *promise himselfe* after the manner of the Latin form, *se sponsam post concubitum invitam non deserturum*, and so gave her one *μῦθεον* or other in earnest: but the Woman she was *desponsata*, promised or bestowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promises of a Woman were false enough to make the saying among the French to be true,

*Qui femme croit & asne mesne,  
Son corps ne sera ia sans peine.*

Achil. Tat. l. 5. And yet (it seems) though they feared she might break a promise, they thought an oath to be strong enough to hold her: For sometimes at the consummation of the business, they went both into the Temple, & there engaged themselves mutually by oath, as it is probable by the practice of *Cliophon* and *Leucippe*, in the Temple of *Isis*, where the man swore *ἀγαπήσειν ἀδελὰς*, and the Woman *ἀνδρα ποιήσασθαι*; ἢ πάντων ἀποφῆναι διαπύττω. I do not remember that the Athenians

nians had that good-fellows-trick of the *Galatians*, to make a poculum conjugii, as well as *Gharitatis* & to pledge their troth in a cup, a trick by which <sup>a</sup> *Camma* is reported to have poison'd <sup>a</sup> *Alex. ab A-Synorix* (whom she pretended to Marry) for kissing her <sup>lex. l. 2 c. 5.</sup> Husband. Or that they used the custom of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loaf in two between them with a sword, related by <sup>b</sup> *Q. Curtius*. Suerely it had been a true *Roman consecration*, if they had. The rites usually observed at a Wed- <sup>b</sup> *L. 8.* ding are said to have been invented by *Erato*. They were <sup>c</sup> *C. el. Rhod.* partly these. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by <sup>l. 7. c. 4.</sup> her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would say to take her leave of the *the* *Virgin*. Besides this, before she can <sup>d</sup> *παρθενη* *Minerva* so cease to be of the *herd* so the *αἴλῳ* \* *αἴλῳ*, take heed, *Great* called. *Diana* will be clean out of patience, if she have not a draught of the blood of a Heifer calf, never yet married in the *joak*, (and so the fitter for the *maid* that gives, and the *maid* that takes) and a crop of her hair besides, according to that of *Euripides*.

<sup>e</sup> *Μόρφη τε παρ' αἰών, αἶς δὲ πᾶσι πᾶσι γένων*  
<sup>f</sup> *Ἀρτίωδ*

<sup>e</sup> *Euripid in Iphigen. Aul. versu 11, 12.*

And therefore *Clytemnestra* (speaking of her daughter, whom they pretended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Husband,

<sup>f</sup> *Περτέλεια δ' ἦν παῖδ' ὅς ἐστι Ζεῦς παῖς;*

<sup>f</sup> *ibid. v. 711.*

Whether he had seen the sacrifice perform'd? But alas poor *Iphigenia*, she had not so much to do as to be a sacrifice to *Diana* the Goddess of *Aulis*, and be made a Calf her selfe: When as our woman, it will serve her turn to *καρφορεῖν* to *Diana* the goddess of *Virginitie*; that is, give her in a basket for a present to stop her mouth some curious needle-work or other, with a prayer besides to this purpose <sup>g</sup> *Ἀρτίωδ ἡνέμεν* <sup>g</sup> *Theocr. Id.* *va*— that she would no take it amiss if she married. But now <sup>127.</sup> must tell you, that besides those rites of the *καρφορία*, there were others as solemn as they to be observed too, if ever they thought to obtain the good will of the Goddess. The manner

manner of them, and the occasion you have related by *Suidas* thus. It happened upon a time that a certain Beare growing tame, came and lived in the *σῆμα* of the *Phlavidæ*; insomuch that at length a little girle durst go so far and so near, as to play with it, but the Beare quickly grew to be in earnest, and drew her blood for the *stake*; whereupon one of her Brothers shot the Bear and killed it. Presently after this there happened a very great Pestilence in the City; and the Oracle being sought unto, answer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they must make a decree, that every girle in the City of *Athens*, some time or other between the years of Five and Ten of her age, clad in a *χροκωτὸς* or a Saffron colour garment, doe offer and devote her selfe to *Diana*, to make amends for the Bear; and therefore a girle thus consecrated, was her self called *ἀρκτὸς* the \* Bear, and the action *ἀρκτίζει* and *ἀρκτεύειν* to play the Bear (which me thinks was very unfitting for a Maid) and sometimes *σεκατεύειν*, because commonly they deferred it till the last year, as she did in a *Leusistratæ*.

\* *Harpor.*

a *Aristoph.*

Εἰ τ' ἀλετρίς ἢ σεκάς

οὔσα τ' ἀρχηγίς

καταχέουα χροκωτὸν ἐν Βραυρωνίοις.

a *Athen. l.6.*

b *Pausan. in  
Arcad.*

c *Ad Odyss.  
Σ.*

d *In Plat.  
Aët.3. Sc.3.*

Ἐν Βραυρωνίοις she saies, because it was to be done in the Feast of *Brauronia* kept in the Month of *Munichion* to the honour of the same *Diana*, who <sup>a</sup> is reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a Village of *Attica*, where *Pausanias* (in *Atticis*) saies, that Image of hers which *Iphigenia* brought from the *Tauri*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, insomuch that she came to be called by the name of *Diana* <sup>b</sup> *Brauronia*. And yet for all this, for ought that I can see, she need not have been so scrupulous for displeasing I know not whom, if she had *Cecrops* his own Law for warrant, who first instituted the contract of Matrimony, & was therefore called by the name of *Σιωνίς*, saith <sup>c</sup> *Enstathius*; or else (according to the Scholiast upon <sup>d</sup> *Aristophanes*)



*Strophanes* ) quasi *ἡ δὲ ἄνδρῶν τὰς δὲ φύσεις ἔστι πατρὶς, καὶ μητρὶς*, because he had in a manner *invented* the two natures of a Father and Mother (as to *knowledge*) and in the way of a certain couple ) or rather, if you will, the natures of a *Father* and a *Son*; for before, neither the Father could be known by the Son, nor the Son by the Father. But some again say, he had this name, because of his having the bodies of two distinct natures: in the upper part of a man, and in the lower of a Dragon, as he saies (in *Vespis*)

Ὡ καί ποτ' ἦρως ἀνὰ ζ ταῖς ποδῶν δράκοντος ἦν.

And others, because of the many excellent Lawes which he made. Whereby he is reported so to have tam'd & civiliz'd the brutish conditions of the ancient people of *Athens*, that he seemed to have *new-moulded* them, and made them of another nature; in the sense, that the stones have been said to be turn'd into men, and the Trees into Lovers of Musick. Of all the reasons that are given, I like that best, which likes *Rhodiginus*; who saies he was called by this name, because the children did now appear to be *διδυμοί*, come of two, whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but *μονοδυμοί*, the Sons of a Mother only: nay hardly that, at such time as the fashion was to be expos'd, or put out to nursing to Bears & Wolves and the like. But enough of this; for I have more worke for the Woman yet. She must Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces* for the past, and in special manner to *Ἥνορα*, either as a *Pronuba* for the present, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater familias* (as he in a *Plautus* calls her) for the future. An ordinary thing it was among the Heathen to change their Gods, when they chang'd their condition: and I should be glad if we *Christians* could answer, *not guilty*, in this particular, being every one of us too too ready *αὐτὸς ἑτερον*, &c. (as *Aristotle* saies in his *Ethicks*) to have a new *Summum bonum* every day at the least. The Sacrifices performed to *Ἥνο* went under the severall names of *προγάμεια*, *πρετέλεια*, and *προτέλαιοι εὐχαί*, *ἡεπτελεια*, and *γαμυλαιοὶ δαχαί*, indeed the two

*c Lib. c. 25.*

*a In Amphitr. Act. 2. Sc.*

*b Lib. i. c. 4.*

first are sometimes the same that *ἐπὶ βολα*, the gifts sent before the wedding, and the word *προθήλη* is used also sometimes in relation to others as well as to *Ἥνο*, as it is to *Diana* in that verse of *Euripides* already cited. And therefore in another (c) place of the same Tragedy, you have the Greek Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they saw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptial pomp thus speaking;

(c) V. 433.

Ἀρτέμιδι προτελήσει τιμὴν νεανίσσῃ  
 Αὐλίδ' ὅτι ἀνάσσει πᾶσιν ἄλλ' ὅτι τε.

(d) *Jul. Pol. l. 3.* And so sometimes to the (d) *Parca*, whom they had reason to remember, if they meant to be *spared*, or to *spin* out their

c. 3.

lives to the longest. But yet *Ἥνο* (I think) was in a great deal more request among Lovers, than any of the rest, because they had her name so oft in their mouthes. For among the *Latines*, when they would expresse themselves in the most affectionate manner that might be, they used to call one another by the name of *Jupiter* and *Ἥνο*, as the old dotard does his *Casina* in the Poet \* by the name of *Ἥνο*.

\* *Plaut. in  
 Casina Act. 1.  
 Sc. 3.*

*Eja mea Ἥνο, non decet te esse tam tristem tuo Ἥνο.*

Adde hereunto the title of *Ἡρατεία*, (as there is also *Χυῖς τελεῖ*) under which she was worshipped, which (together with the word *προτελεῖ*) must be so said, either from *τελεῖ* anciently put for *γάμ* (as *τελεῖσθαι* was for *γῆμαι*) from whence comes *τέλειον* both the Sacrifice and the day, or from *προτελεῖν* to initiate, or from *τέλει* *adultus*, as if onely such as were of age (*ἐξ ἐβλῶ τελεῖω*) \* might be suffered to have the happiness to marry. Now *Ἥνο adultus*, and *Jupiter adultus*, were the more religiously worshipped at such a time, as *πρυτανεῖς* ὄντες *ἢ γάμων* (saies *Suidas*) as being esteemed in a manner the *Prytanis*, and overseers of the wedding. Here's a great deal of cry about sacrifices, but you'l say the *Wool* is to come: onely some *σπονδαί* there must be, lest any Roman should grudge the Woman the name of a *Sponsa*. Now because (it may be) I set you a longing upon the mention of Gifts, I will speak a word or two more of them. The gifts called

\* *Aristotle;*

called by Demosthenes *Γαμνλία*, was that which they sent to the *πράτορες* for the making of a Feast, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gift of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptials, they called *ἔδνα* (as they did also those which they gave when they went a woing) But the *ἔδνῳ* *χρῶν* was a garment bestowed upon the Husband by the wife (giving of apparel was very usual once both with the Jew, (a) & the Gentile) And you may not wonder at her for liberality, if she gave a Cake to him that had a Pasty in the Oven; for if she brought her *φίπρας*, she had her *ἐπιφέρειν* to carry away. Nor can you blame her for immodesty in giving, who was to be given her selfe: for else (it may be) before it was come thus farre, she might bear the blame of the proverb, *femme qui donne s'abandonne*, she that gives is soon gotten. The petty gifts then given by the Parents they call'd *μείλια ἑπιμύλια* as were those which were given after the Wedding. The dowry bestowed upon her by her Father at the first, *μεγίξ*: that which was afterward added to improve it, *ἐπιμεγίξ*. (thus some have thought good to distinguish, and look their gifts in the mouth; but they may be two free of their distinctions.) At her first coming to her husband, she had bestowed upon her by him and her friends *τὰ ἀναγκαυτήσια* (which was also the name of the day it selfe) otherwise called *δαίματα*, *ἀνδρῆματα*, *προσδαντήσια*, and all for the same reason, viz. because those gifts were given, *ut illa pateretur se videri*, saies (b) *Victorius*, to make her take off her vail, and be seen. In such a way *Jupiter* is reported to have bestowed upon *Proserpina* the City of *Thebes*: according to those verses of *Euphorion*, as they are cited by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Phœnissis*.

Τὴς ῥὰ πατρὸς Κρονίδης δῶκεν πόρε Περσεφονείῃ

Ἐν γὰρ ὅτε προῖπεν ἢ ὀπαπήσας ἑμῶς

Νυμφισὶς ἀνέγειο παραλήντα καλυπτρῶν.

*Καλυπτρῶν* saies he, or *καλύπτραν* according to *I. Pollux*: for also

(a) Gen. c. 24. 5.

(b) Var. Lect. l. 25. c. 3.



though she might now show her face and be modest never-  
thelesse, yet before, she stood behind a red vayl or hood, with  
which she hid her selfe, & so deserved the name of *ἡμυρ* if it  
were for nothing else <sup>a</sup> but for that. This *Luteous* vail is o-  
therwaies called *ἡ δὲ*, in Latin *Flammæum*, <sup>a</sup> in Hebrew *המור*  
such a thing as *Rebecca* had when she met with her Hus-  
band, *Gen.* 24. 65. or *Tamar* when she met with a worse  
thing, *c.* 38. 19. The reason why they were not unveiled till  
they came to be covert *Baron* (I mean at *Athen*s, for at *Sparta*  
they say, it was the clean contrary) is by *Charilaus* (cited  
by <sup>b</sup> *Cal. Rhodiginus*) delivered vail'd under these words *ἐν*  
*τῷ μὲν κόρῃ ἀνδρῶν ὑπεῖν δεῖ, τῷ δὲ γυναικὶ σῶζειν τὸ ἔχοντες.*  
the scope of the man, or the true reason of the custome  
though I cannot easily hit, yet I may give a very great aime  
when I say, *Anctæ fuga forma est*—  
(as *Ovid* saies of *Peneis* when *Apollo* pursued her) or when I  
expresse my selfe in the words of *Nonnus*.

*Καὶ πλεὺν ἰατρῶσι καλυπτομένη τοῦ προσώπου.*

Men long to see a face thats hid, the more.

Indeed the case was otherwise with the Sophister *Hermocra-*  
*tes*, who having a Wife, that was none of the handsomest,  
put upon him by the Emperour *Severus*, and being deman-  
ded his *ἀνακαλυψήρια*, very handsomely answered to put  
it off, *ἐγκαλυψήρια μὲν ἐν πτωχῷ καμῶνον, ἢ δὲ πλουτίῳ καμῶνον, ἢ δὲ πτωχῷ καμῶνον, ἢ δὲ πλουτίῳ καμῶνον, ἢ δὲ πτωχῷ καμῶνον, ἢ δὲ πλουτίῳ καμῶνον.*  
to give her somewhat to let her vail alone, unlesse she were better  
than she is. Whether these *Flammea* were of the same making  
that their ordinary *πέπλα* were, I cannot well tell, but if they  
were (as I have some cause so to think, by those words of  
<sup>a</sup> *Iphigenia* as she was going to be married, *ἔγω δὲ κατὰ τὸν*  
*ῥόμα δὲ καλυμμάτων ἔχουσιν* --) then I must tell you, they were  
so thin, that their faces might well have been discovered, and  
the covering been let alone, for *Helen*, it seems, could see the  
flowers thorow them.

<sup>a</sup> See another  
reason in *Prov.*

3. 19.

<sup>a</sup> *Juven.* Sat. 2.

<sup>b</sup> *L.* 13. 45.

<sup>a</sup> *In Aul.* v.  
372.

<sup>b</sup> *Emip.* *Hel.* v.  
150.

<sup>b</sup> *Ὅς τις χλοερά*

*Δρεπνέται ἐσω πύλων*

*Ῥόδα πέπλα---*

But

But this may be easily answered; for as (you know) a *mountain* that is a farre off, may be hid by putting but the little finger between; so again, one man is able to see another plainly thorow that which is sufficient to hide *himselfe*. And so much for the gifts at present, perchance you may have more anon. Now the custome was for the Bride to be carried from her *παρθέων* Chamber to her Husbrnd, in a Coach (or some such kind of thing) which the poore Girle in the \*Poet (complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuse) could terme \**Id. in Tauris* little better then being ferried in *Charon's* boat. v.370, &c.

Ἀδὲς Ἀχιλλεύς, ὡς ἄρ' ἔχ' ὁ Πηλεΐδης  
Ὅν μοι προσεῖπας ποσσὶν ἐν ἄρματι δ' ὄχοις  
Ἐἰς αὐμάτηρον γάμον ἐπὶ δ' ἐμδούσας δόλῳ.

To *Pluto*, not to *Peleus's* son  
You would me then have married,  
When me to bloody Nuptials  
In Coach and fraud you carried.

The fellow that was the Coach-man, carried a Torch in his hand, if we may gather so much by the *Nuncius* in another Tragedy, for he saies, he had done this office for *Helē* himselfe.

*Id. in Hel. v.*  
728.

Λαμπάδων μεμνήμεθ' ἃς ἦ τετραόροισ  
Ἰωπῶδ' ἔχοντες περὶ φέροντι σὺ δ' ἐν δίοχοις  
Σὺν τῷ ἦ νύμφῃ δῶ μ' ἐλείπας ὀλβιον.

(I make bold to trouble you with so much Greek, because it explains the custome so fully.) The song which they sung as they went along, they called *ἄρματιον μέλῳ*, from *ἄρμα* the Coach, the Axletree whereof they burnt as soon as they came to the Bridegrooms door, *ut signarent illam ibi perpetuam mansuram, neque inde ullâ tempestate recessuram*; to shew that she was never to return from thence again: just as *William* the Conquerour burnt his ships at *Pevensey*, that so his Souldiers seeing their return to be desperate, might Fight the more desperately (as we use to say) or with the better courage. The *νυμφαγωγὴς*, *νυμφόδοτις*, or *παρὶ νύμφῃ* that was

was sent to fetch her, either fate by his side in the same Coach, or else went along by her *Coaches* side in another, & was therefore called  $\pi\alpha\rho\sigma\chi\theta$ , from  $\theta\chi\theta$ ; unlesse that she were either willing, or constrain'd to foot it; for then he could be but  $\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\iota\pi\eta\varsigma$  a *Pedee*. This custome for the husband to lead his Wife home by the hand of a proxie (yet in fashion among Kings and Princes) was sure to be observed at his *second Marriage*, for then (saies <sup>a</sup> *Eustathius*)  $\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon\iota\mu\varsigma$  ( $\epsilon\ \nu\epsilon\lambda\mu\varsigma$  saies <sup>b</sup> *Pollux*)  $\epsilon\ \nu\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\sigma\iota\ \mu\alpha\tau\iota\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota$ , he might not do it himseffe, perhaps out of shame, because they accounted it a disparagement for a man to Marry the second time, yea though his former wife were dead, as (it may be) I shall have occasion to shew you hereafter. Besides the  $\nu\upsilon\mu\phi\omega\delta\eta\lambda\eta\varsigma$ , or the *Brideman*, & some of her own friends, there went along with her a  $\nu\upsilon\mu\phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\eta\varsigma$ , or a *Bridewoman* to take off her vaile, and dresse, and undresse, and do other such offices as should be required. Her *Wedding Ornaments* were pretious stones & jewels, especially about her bed, such as <sup>a</sup> *Herminione* had in the Tragedy.  $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\delta\eta\ \iota\delta\omega\ \epsilon\mu\phi\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \chi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \chi\lambda\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$ . Her *Wedding Garment* was all of purple, save in one place (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where else)  $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\alpha\ \gamma\ \theta\ \epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\omega\delta\eta\sigma\iota\upsilon\ \upsilon\ \chi\omega\epsilon\alpha\ \epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\phi\upsilon\gamma\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\tau\ \chi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\delta\epsilon\ \iota\omega$ ; and there it was gold, which agrees very well with that of *Hesiod* concerning a *Virgin*.

$\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\omega\ \epsilon\pi\gamma\ \epsilon\iota\delta\omega\iota\alpha\ \nu\omicron\lambda\upsilon\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\ \lambda\omicron\phi\theta\iota\mu\epsilon\iota$ .

Who never yet the Works of *Golden Venus* knew.

I think I might venture upon this custome to interpret  $\tau\omega\ \pi\omicron\phi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\ \epsilon\ \pi\alpha\phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\eta\varsigma$  (in <sup>b</sup> *Eustathius*) in another sense than others have done. When she came to the house, she found the Doores all hung with Garlands already, *Domus tota laureis obsita*, saies <sup>c</sup> *Apulitus*: it seems they tarried not till <sup>d</sup> *Juvenals* time

— *Foribus suspende Coronas*

*I am pater es* —

Neither was it any whit strange to her to see those ornaments upon the House, for she her selfe had the same according to those words of *Clytemnestra* to *Achilles*.

<sup>a</sup> In *Homeri*  
Il. 6.

<sup>b</sup> L. 3. c. 5.

<sup>a</sup> *Eurip. Androm.* v. 147.

<sup>b</sup> *Ism.* l. 10.

<sup>c</sup> L. 3. *Met.*

<sup>d</sup> *Sat.* 9.



ἡ Σοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνεύσαντες ὡς γαμεῖν.

d Eurip. Ephig.  
in Aut. v. 705.  
a Declam. 39.

And (I think) her Husband too. <sup>a</sup> Libanius, speaking to the Father, whose work it was to trim the Husband; as it was the Mothers to adorn the Wife. The custome of adorning the House with Garlands, was very much in use among the Romans too, & as much detested by the Christians, *Christianus nec Laureis jannam infamabit*, saies <sup>f</sup> Tertullian. Those Garlands have been made either of *Verbena*, consecrated to *Venus*, and so they made them in *Italy*; or of *Asparagus*, and so they made them in *Bæotia*; or else of the leaves of the hearbs Σιούμβειον, Σήσαμον, and μέλιον, and so they made them at *Athens*, Σήσαμα καὶ καὶ μέλιον καὶ σιούμβειον ἐν ἧν οἱ σερῶνται οἱ νυμφεῖοι, saies the <sup>a</sup> Scholiast; the leaves had the name of the Hearb in the plural number. The Garland made of *Sesamum* leaves had the name of Σήσαμον, or Σισαμίδις, but the Cake which they made of the grain was called Σισαμίδις. For Cakes they usually bestowed upon them at their day of Marriage, as well as Garlands, as *He* sayes in the <sup>a</sup> Comædy (telling how all things were now ready for the Wedding)

f De Coron.  
Milit. c. 13:

a Upon Ari-  
stoph. in Pa.

Ὁ παῖς πῶς τῶν Σισαμίδις Σισαμίδις.

a Aristoph.  
Pac.

And made they were of *Sesamum* rather than any other thing *ὡς τὸ πολυγόνον* (saies the Scholiast) as it were the herb *Polygonum*, a name very well ominous to the new Married people. Whether the custome of kembering her hair with a Spear (such as had been kept by a Fencer with the losse of his life) were in use among the *Grecian* women too (as <sup>b</sup> some say it was) I cannot determine. But among the *Romans* it was, and they called such a Spear *hastam cælibarem*. The reason why the Woman made use of such a comb, or made this use of a spear, is thought to be, either *quasi fortes eâ de causâ viros se geniturâ ominentur*, because she ominated that by this means <sup>b</sup> she should have strong men to her children, or *quod sponsi discipline se subditâ fateatur*. Because she acknowledged her selfe subject to her husbands discipline. As the woman went forth of her fa-

b Alex. ab A-  
lex. l. 2. c. 5.

thers

a Aristoph. in  
Pluto.

thers house, she was to be lifted out over the threshold, just as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of the Election, to pretend a constraint. You see, 'tis *ducere* (*Uxorem*) almost every where, and yet they say, that *Love will Creep where it cannot goe*. As she entred into her Husbands house, the a Boyes and Maids sell a throwing of Figs and Junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraid him of *sycophancy*, but as an omen of fruitfulnessse, *ἀετρεῖας σημεῖον*, (saies Rhodiginus out of Theopompus) which puts me in mind of a foolish custom once in fashion with some of Us, viz. upon *Twelve Eve* (as they call'd it) to put part of their tosted *Bean-cake* upon one of their Trees, and so to cry *What sayle*, and sing a *Carmen* for a fruitful year. The trumpery thus thrown or poured out, they called *καταχύσματα*, as the word is used by the Poet in his Comædy of *Pluto*, where he brings in the Woman ready to do the like upon him, and so to give him the *Ioy* for his new bought eyes; saies she

— Κομίσσω καταχύσματα  
Ὡς πέρ γεωνήτοισιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγὼ.

Upon which words the Scholiast notes it to have been the custome also for a new servant, at his first comming into the house, to have him to the fire side, and there to *son* upon his head *κόλλυβα, ἰχθῆδας, εἰνίκας*, Junkets, and Figs, and Palmbranches, and a hundred other such trinkets. But this I think was done, not onely as he sayes, *εἰς εὐπείας σημεῖον*, to make it an omen of fruitfulnessse (as they had done to his Master before) but also for the benefit of the old Servants, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was thrown, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in *Oxford*) do the *Freshmens gaudies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but some *beast* or other was bestowed upon them for a *victim*. In the cutting of it up (to shew that in *Vvedlock* all bitternessse and choller must be cast aside) they took the a Gall, and flung it with a most eager loathing behind the Altar during the time of Sacrifice.

a Cal. Rhod.  
l. 28. c. 21.

If there happened any thing *obscene* or unlucky, the Nuptials were dissolv'd, and thus it hapned to <sup>b</sup> *Clitophon*, and <sup>b</sup> *Ach. Tat. l. 2.* *Calligone*; for an Eagle came and snatcht away a piece of the Sacrifice as it lay upon the Altar. Now this Sacrifice was usually performed by the Fathers (and none so fit to be the Priests of their own family) as may be gathered from the practise of <sup>c</sup> *Agamemnon*; who when his Wife call'd upon him <sup>c</sup> *Supp. Iph. in A. v. 721.* to make ready the *Wedding cheer*, very religiously made answer yes,

Οὐταί μ' ὀνομάζ' ἀπὸ ἑχέλω δούτω θεοῖς.

When I have done my *Wedding Sacrifice*.

As also by that which you may read of the like practice in *Achilles Tatius*, where he speaks of the Marriages of *Leucippe* and *Calligone*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers <sup>Libanius De- clam. 35.</sup> in a more especiall manner to *Jupiter* <sup>Ὀυρόγινος</sup>, and *Juno* <sup>Συζυγία</sup>, if it may appear by that of *Libanius*, τὰ πατρὸς ἐτήρησε, καὶ Ὀυρόγινον Δία, καὶ Ἡραν Συζυγίαν ἐτίμασι προσέειπεν. By reason of this, and other solemnities of their Weddings, you will not imagine what a profanation they made it to disturb the busines never so little, or to offer any *incivility* to either of the parties, especially to the Wife: as for instance; One *Callicles* (of whom you may read the story in *Phocius Codice πδ.*) being accused of Bribery to the *Areopagus*, they summon'd him to make his appearance at the Court to answer the crime; but the Sergeants that were sent (saith my Author) τὰ πρόθυρα ἰδόντες ἐσερανωμένους, καὶ γινόντες ὡς εἰν τελευτῶς γυνὴν γαμοῖς, ἀφέντες τὴν ζήτησιν ἀνεχώρησαν: ἢ καὶ ὡς ἴδοντες εὐχεῖν ἐπειπαλθεῖν γυναικὶ νεογαμῶν, as soone as they saw but the signs of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the door) & were informed of a Nuptiall Sacrifice, because they would not rush in uncivilly upon the new Married Wife, they made no more enquiry after the Man, but returned presently back againe, and the Court was contented with the news. Solikewise in the Wars with King *Philip*, having intercepted severall Letters of his to his friends, and amongst the rest



one that was directed to his Wife *Olympia*; when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court, they no sooner cast their eye upon that to his Wife, but presently every one cry'd out *μῦτε λυεῖν, μῦτε ἀναγιώσκειν*, that it might not be read, nor so much as broken up. *a* Πρὸς γὰρ γαμήλιον γυναῖκα

*a* Phœnius ib.

ἢ διὰ χειρὸς τῶν θυγατέρων ἀνδρῶν, ἢ ἐν ὁμίᾳ δημοσίῳ ἐν ὁμίᾳ ἴδιᾳ, because they thought it a thing no way be-  
seeming them to divulge that most secret converse by let-  
ters betwixt a man and his Wife. From the service of their  
Gods, they made hast to the service of their *Genius*; but a-  
midst a great deal of good cheer, the Man and the Wife were  
alwaies noted (*a*) for a great deal of temperance too. The

*a* Athenæus l. 9.

*b* Zenobius.

Boy with his Garland of Thorns, and boughes of Acorns,  
singing as he went *ἔσθυσαν κακὸν, εὗρον ἀμεινον*, *I* (or *they*)  
have avoided a worse evill, and met with a better. If he spake in  
the person of the man, he meant that he had met with *opti-*  
*mum malorum*, the best of the three evils at the least; & so it is  
not so bad as *out of the frying pan into the fire* (unlesse you will  
prize the finding of a Wife; after the rate of leeing her,  
for so (they say) *he that hath lost his Wife and six pence, hath*  
*some losse by the money*. The Musick which they had was singing  
*ἀμωσάως*, by turns; and calling upon *Hymeneus* (as the Ro-  
mans did upon *Talaffius*) *c* *Ῥυμήν, ὦ Ῥυμῆϊ ὦ Ῥυμήν*, imitated by  
him in *Plantus*.

*c* Aristoph. in  
*Avib.*

*To Hymen, Hymenæe, To Hymen.*

And this they did either in a *thankfull commemoration* of one  
of that name, who had sometimes sav'd the Maides of *Athens*  
from a generall ravishment; (such as there was once of the  
*Sabines*) or else in a *sorrowfull commiseration* of another, that  
happen'd to be killed by the fall of a house that very day  
that he Married. Whatever the *Man* was, they seem to have  
given him the honour of a *God*, and therefore to have been  
very loath to give him distaste, in omitting any part of the  
*Nuptiall ceremonies*.

*Quid*

*Quid si etiam offendam Hymenæum?*

Saies he in <sup>a</sup> *Plautus*. And this it was that made them keep <sup>a</sup> In *Casina* such a noyse in the Streets, as they did with their <sup>3o</sup> *Hymen* <sup>Act. 4. Sc. 3.</sup> *Hymenæe*, as soon as ever she was out of her Fathers house.

Ὅταν ξυὼ ὁ νυμφαῖος ἐν ἑστῇσι νόστω.

saies *Clytemnestra*; <sup>b</sup> which agrees with that of the other Poet in the same place.

<sup>b</sup> *Eurip. Iphig.*  
in *A. v.* 693.

*Age tibicen, dum illam educunt huc novam nuptam foras,*

*Suavi cantu concelebra omnem hanc plateam, Hymenæa.*

Whether 'twere the fashion in *Greece* to set the Woman first in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tell: But (if I mistake not) *Lactantius* ha's somewhat of such a thing, & I might speak more of *Priapus*, too, if it were fitting. As the woman was led into the Chamber († δάλαμον or † πασάδα) to shew whereto shee must, there was a sieve carried along with her, and a pestle hung at the door, οπιῖα αὐτοργίας (as *I. Pollux* saies) or to signifie that hereafter she must learn to put her hand to any kind of labour. When the Man and the Woman were both in (for the Woman was in first, as the fashion is with *Us*) according to *Solons* own order, they were to take a *Quince* apple, and eat it between them, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπὶ δάματ, καὶ παῖς χάριν εὐδρυμοσεν ἢ παῖτω καὶ ἡδῆαν, saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to signifie the pleasantness and harmony which should be in their talk at first. And yet notwithstanding now they are in the very Bed-chamber, if a Chough would but come and scold (grave cornicaretur forsooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at least) and leave the building imperfect; and this they called ἀνεπίτεστον δάμα: or γὰρ αὐτὸ τέλει, because by this means

— *a Coniux miseranda Cayco*

<sup>a</sup> *Valer. Flac.*

*Linguitur, & primo Domus Imperfecta cubili.*

δάμα I said (or if you will εὐκρινέστερ speak a little finer) δάματον; for this word is many times used by it self for δάλαμον, as it seems to be by *Plato* in his third book *de Republ.* speaking of *Jupiter* thus, καὶ ἔταξεν ἀπληγίστην ἰδόντα τὴν ἡγῶν, ὥστε

b Epy. l. 2.

ὅτι ἴς τὸ δωματίον ἐδίδειν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ βελδυαὶον χαμαὶ συγ-  
γινεῖτο. And yet I think <sup>b</sup> *Hesiod* (without any wrong done  
him) may be understood of any other businesse left *Rough-*  
*hewn*, unpolish'd, or not done over againe, when he saies

c Apud Eustath.  
l. 5.

Μηδὲ δόμον παίων ἀνεπιξέειν καταλείπειν

Μήτοι ἐρεζομένη κρῶζα λακερυζα κωρώνη.

c *Ismenias* applies it indeed to our purpose; but now to  
prevent such an omen as this, they set the boies to cry Κόρη  
ἐκκόρει κωρώνην, in manner of a *Scare-cry*, as if they had been  
set to keep off the Rooks from the corn: κωρώνην (I say) and  
not κωρώναι, in the plural number; for herein the *Scholias*t upon  
*Pindar* is suppos'd to have mistaken; because neither that  
bird, nor the Turtle at the making of their *Augury* (which  
was commonly the day before the Wedding) was ever  
wont to be lookt upon as unlucky; unlesse it came in the  
singular number; and then the birds being singled and divided  
one from the other, could not possibly be a good signe to  
those that were to be coupl'd, and joined together. But some  
notwithstanding like the Choughs for very good lucky birds (as  
we use to say) let them come how they will; either because  
they are πολυζῶσι (as *Homer* calls them) long-liv'd, or because

a Alex. ab Alex.  
l. c. 5.

ea cornicum societas est (saies none) ut ex duabus Sociis, altera  
extincta, vidua altera perpetuo maneat. Now in the Chamber  
where they were to lye, they had two beds, viz. κλίνην χαμα-  
κλήν, & κλίνην ὀρθόκυσον, or a side-bed for a change, or ὡς τῷ  
πλὴν παρὰ μὴ ἀδυμήπτῳ, saith *Hesychius*. If the parties that  
were married were very young, their Poets would term the  
bed κρείδον λέχθ; as *Aristophanes* does (in *Pace*) and so  
κρείδον \* δῶμα for the house, and κρείδία for the wife. Before  
the woman could lie with the man, she was to have her bath  
of water heated of purpose to wash her body in, νυμφοκὸν λου-  
τρον they called it, according to that of the Comedian in  
*Lysistrate*. Σπς. ὦ λέκτρον, εἴδα παρθένη ἐλυσ' ἐγὼ

d Homer.

Χορ. Κορένματ' ἐν τῷ δ' αὖ σπός.

And in *Pace*, you have *Trigenis* when he intended to marry  
Opera,



*Opora*, giving order to his servant, as soon as he had brought her to his house, first to provide him a pot of Water, and afterward to make the bed.

Ἀλλ' εἰπαγ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτὴν ἔλαβων

Καὶ τῷ πύλον κατακλύζε, καὶ θέρμαιν' ὕδωρ,

Στόειν θύμῳ καὶ τῇ καλῇ δὸν λέχῳ.

This water at first was fetcht as far as from *Callirhoe-well*, ἐκ τῆς καλλιρρόης, εἰτ' αὖθις ἐκ τῆς ἐννεακρήτους καλῆς δέου. But afterward, saies a *Pollux*, from *Enneacrinos*, which was so called because it had nine severall κρήναι, or *fistulas*, or *salientes*, where the water sprung up, & so you might allow one for every Muse in the City. But what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacrinos* were but two distinct names of the same Well. The one expressing what fair Water it was, or how well and clear it ran; and the other in how many places; for it may very well be thought so by that verse of *Stattius*.

a L. 3. c. 3.

*Et quos Callirhoe nonis errantibus undis*

b Theb. 12.

*Implicat*

Nay, *Thucydides* saies positively, they were the same. Onely that when the Well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was usuall when they new-made a thing, to give it a new name) it received the name of *Enneacrinos*. Which if it be so, I think it may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of his formerly cited, to read it thus ἐκ τῆς καλλιρρόης, εἰτ' αὖθις τῆς ἐννεακρήτους καλῆς δέου. From *Callirhoe* afterward named *Enneacrinos*. The woman whom they imploy'd to fetch this water, was commonly called the *Δεσφορῶσα*. When the Wife was ready to undress, her Mother tooke her hairlace, and winding it about one of the torches (for they had *δεσφῶσαι* too) burnt it out, and made up her hair with a new. The Mother I said. For she commonly would *δεσχεῖν*, carry the torches, or hold the candle to it, or any other work which the *Pronuba's* used to doe.

— Non te duxit in thalamos parens

*Comitata primos, nec sua feste manu*

Z 3

Ornavit

Ornavit ades, nec suâ latas faces

Vitrâ revinxit

saies \* Jecasta.

\* Senec. Theb.

a Declam. 37.

\* Eurip. Iph.

in Aul. v.7.34.

For the matter of these Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not yet assur'd: whether it were *Corylis*, commonly used for such purposes, according to *Pliny*; or *Larex*, or *Spina alba*, which they used among the Romans: and so likewise for their number, whether the custom were to have just five according to the number of the Gods which they pray'd to, viz. *Jupiter Adultus*, *Iano Adulta*, *Venus*, *Suadela*, and *Lucina*; they have not given me light enough to discover, a little glimmering I have, and some cause to conjecture, that there was a certain number required. Otherwise why should the covetous Father in a *Libanius* complain so heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter (that he could not ἐν λόγῳ τῶν νυμφῶν ἀγασθῆναι, light the Bride to bed with one & on more. But for the bearer, that it was usually the Mother, will appear by the discourse that passed between *Clytemnestra* and her Husband in the \* *Pœt*; for when her Husband bid her go back again to *Argos*, and leave her daughter with him; she askt him

τίς δ' ἀναρῆται τὰς λύγας, but who shall carry the Torches then? and being answered ἐγὼ παρὶς αὐτῶν, ὁ νυμφόεις ἀρῆται; that he meant to do it himself: nay quoth she ἐγὼ ἔσθ' ἐγὼ καὶ οὐδ' ἂν γὰρ ταῦτα, that was never the custom, neither do you your self think it to be handsome & fitting. & indeed, I think, *Clytemnestra* was wrong'd: for it seemes to have been reckoned not so much the office and the charge, as the Priviledge, and the honour of the Grecian Woman. And therefore *Medea* made it one of the sad consequents of her banishment from the company of her Children, to bee debarred the bearing of the Torches at their Wedding. O my dear children, quoth she, what a Wretch am I, who must thus leave you before I carry the Torches.

a Eurip. Med.

1025.

ἂν εἶναι λέγει, καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ πατέρα

Ἐνταῦθα δ' ὁ γυνὴ λαμβάνει τὰς λύγας.

\*Tis

'Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had desir'd only to have lighted the Torches, she might very well have been blam'd for her passion, because then he had done no more then other fathers used to doe. ἄδης λαμπρὰς ὑπανήκον: I lighted the Torches, saies he in \* *Libanins*. But this office neither of them could challenge from the other, but they shar'd it between \* *Decl. 35.* them, for the Mothers might do it too, if we may believe the Author in those words which he puts in *Niobes* mouth (but took them out of *Medea's* upon the death of her children, Εγὼ μὲν λαμπάδα λαμπρὸν ὄμῳ προσέψην (not only ἀναχέσσω) τοῖς ἡμέτεροις καὶ παρθένοις; I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding, &c. At *Sparta* there was none of these doings, only the *Pronuba* shaved the woman (whether because she had vowed to be henceforth her Husband's) and so delivered her up to the man (if she had gone among the, \* *Israelites* when she was thus us'd, certainly the people there would have taken her for a captive Wife.) The *Zona* \* *Dent. 21 12.* which the Woman wore was untied by the Husband in the bed ζώνη γὰρ ὡς ὁ κείνος ὄν ἔδουσαν αἱ παρθένοι; ὅς καὶ ἐκ ἐλευθέρου ἀπαρθένοι γίνονται, saies the *Scholiast* upon *Euripides* in *Helena*: certainly the name of *Λυσιζώνη* might be given to *Diana* as seasonably then as at the time of Child bearing, and worshipped she was then as well as at any other time. But at which of the times it was that they gave her the *Zona*, or whether there were another yet to be untied besides this; or whether it was tyed and untied again; or whether one knot were untied at first time, and another at the second, theres the knot of question (if we may question for knots in bulrushes.) Indeed that there was a *Zona* untied the Wedding night, I think it may be proved by those words of *Alcestes*.

ὦ λήκτρον, ἔνθα παρθένη ἐλυγ' γυῖ

Κορύμβας ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρῆς.—

And that there was another left to be untied at the time of child-bearing, I have reason to conjecture from the *Herculeus*



*neus nodus* formerly mention'd; because (I suppose) they call'd it by that name in allusion not so much to *Hercules* his strength, as if they would have it the *faster*, that is the stronger *ty'd*; as to his happineſſe in making of children, as if they would have it the *faster untty'd*, as fast as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had ſeventy children juſt. After they were both in bed, the Boyes and Maids (whom we may call the *Children of the Bridegroom*) ſtood at the chamber door, and ſung their *ὠμὸν ἀνδρῶν*, or *ἰαμὸν*, with as great noiſe as poſſibly they could, *ἵνα δὲ παρδὶναι βιάζουμέναι, καὶ τὸ ἄνδρος ἡ φωνὴ μὴ ἔξαιέσθαι*, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, ſo that if the Wife ſhould *Cry out* (as we ſay) before her time, ſhe might not be heard. Which they had no ſuch need to doe, if that be true which they ſay, that one of the *Brides* friends, whom they call'd the *ὑπώγειος*, uſually did him that good office, to ſtand ſentinel at the door, and keep the Women off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not ſo much *wedded* to his *pleaſure*, as to be clean *divorced* from his friends; for beſides the feaſt which he made altogether for the women (call'd *Θεσμοφειά*, by *Iſaus* in his oration for *Pyrrhus*) he made another for the *οἰκίητις*, as his Father in Law had done before him. This making of Feaſts at Weddings was properly call'd *δούσαι τοῦ γάμου*, as it is in the Tragedy.

Pollux l. 3. c. 3.

Iphig. in Aul. v.  
707, & 720.

Κ' ἄνωγα δαίτῃς τοῦ γάμου.—  
And a little before.

Ἐνταῦθ' ἐδάσαντο πλείους γάμους διότι.

Neither was the Woman and her Mother behind hand at this kind of work; for they alſo kept a *Feaſt* of purpoſe for the women beſides. And therefore ſaies *Clytemneſtra* in the place but now cited,

Ἡμεῖς δὲ δούλω πῦρ γυναιξὶ θόσπερον.

The ſaying *aujourd'hui marié*, & *demain mari*, to day Wedded, and to morrow ſaddened, would ſcarce hold true among them. For the day after the Wedding, the Mirth ran as freſh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carried to the  
house

house in pompe, a Boy in a white coate walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the reere, with suits of Cloath's and all sorts of Houfhold stiffe, as Spooones, and Cups, and the like: a custome observed by the *Lacedemonians* with so much pride and excesse, that *Solon* was faine to make a Law to restrain the Suits to the number of three, and the rest of the things to a lower price. The gifts then bestowed; they called *ἀνύκτα* (as those which presented you before, were called *ἐπαύλια*) and sometimes *διαπρεσβυα*, as being that which (to speak in *Juvenal's* words)

*Primâ pro nocte datur* — and such gifts *Medea* once sent by her children to *Glauca*. But so with the vengeance, as she made them *ἀδύα δάεα*, killing her with the Spirit from which she gave her the roast.

*Πέμψω ἀδύα καὶ δάε' ἔχοντας ἐλπεῖν* *Eurip. Med. v.*

*Νύμφη δέοντας &c.* *Pollux. l. 3.*

And this puts me in mind of some that reckon three daies for a Wedding allowing *ἀποαύλια* for the first, *ἐπαύλια* (when the garment called *ἀπαυλημεία* was given by the Woman to the man) for the second, and *ἐπαύλια* for the third.

### CAP. VIII

*Quo tempore optime ducatur Uxor.*

The time of the year which they deemed most lucky to Marry in (for almost every Nation has had their nefastous time and dayes) was the first Moneth of the Winter. (Cleane contrary to the custome of the *Perfians*, who thought it fitter to follow nature's example, and set upon the worke of Generation in the Spring.) But though they chalked but one part of the year, I hope they did not mark all the rest with a coale, neither can I think they had the same opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans had only of the Month of May.

A a

it

*Ovid. l. 5. Fas.*

Quest. Rom.  
8. 6.

it may be *malum* by <sup>b</sup> *Plutarches* consent. The best day of the Month, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moone; that they might be brought to bed (as we say) the sooner, and grow the fuller themselves. But the best part of the day was the last, or the next to the night, and so they might goe to bed the sooner. Just at these seasons *Thetis* in <sup>a</sup> *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be Married to *Peleus*, as appears in those words of hers (and the Poets)

Isbm. H.

— οὐδ' ἀποχρησίδεσσι

Δὲ ἑσπερίας ἐρατὸν

Λύει καὶ χαλκὸν ὕ-

πὸν ἥρις παρδιδεία.

But I make no question, (as exact as they were in *Marrying*) many of them had the fortune to be borne <sup>is</sup> *περὰς* *Quarta Luna*, as *Hercules* had. Besides, <sup>\*</sup> *Hesiod* is of opinion that the fourth day (and I beleve he meanes *μυρὸς ἡμέρας* of the first third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, so that no *Oscine* bird did *obscurare* or *occidere*, sing any other song to the contrary.

ἐργ. l. 3.

Ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ μυρὸς ἀγλαὶς εἰς ὅμον ἀκοίτην

Ἵσιωνες κρίνας οἱ ἐπ' ἐργυρῶν τέττα ἀείρου.

Whereas the <sup>ἐκ τῇ</sup> *μυρὸς* (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty dayes to the Month) was in his judgment all as bad againe, especially for the Woman. But I must confesse, I rather incline to the judgment of the Goddesse especially having <sup>a</sup> *Agamemnon* too (a man) on my side, who when the question was ask'd — *τίς δ' ἡμέρα γαμέει;* made answer.

<sup>a</sup> *Enrip: Iphig.*  
in A. v. 717.

Ὅτι δὲ δὴ μὲν ἐν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ δὴ καὶ δὴ

When that blest season of Full Moon shall come.

I doe not find the *Romans* to have been so scrupulous as to think Marriage to be imperfect, unlesse it were at the full, or never to be as good as it should be, except it were in *Medio*, like the virtues. Tis true, the *Kalends* and the *Nones*, and the *Ides*, were daies of another colour, black & unsuitable with



with the mirth of a Wedding: and so were all Holy-daies whatsoever, and the reason you have given by <sup>b</sup> *Macrobius* in these words, *Feriis autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare est: ideo* <sup>b</sup> *L. 1. Sat. c. 15.* *tunc vitantur nuptia, in quibus vis fieri virginibus videtur:* To whom if you object that the Nones were no Holy-daies, he will reply, that neither were the Nones Holy-daies to any, neither *Religious* daies (as they call'd them) to such as intended to Marry, but only thus: all your *postriduani dies*, that is the first daies after the Ides, or the Nones, or the Calends, being accounted *atri*, were not to admit of any Sacrifice. Now every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which she could not doe, if she married upon the Nones. 'Tis true a *Widdow* might be suffered to Marry upon a Holy-day; (and *Varro* will tell you the reason) but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the feast of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. Besides having of *non-licet* daies, they had a custom to Marry only upon such a day as by the judgment of the *Astrologer* (to whom they sought) *copulas nuptiales affirmeret*. But so much may suffice concerning the time of Marrying. I proceed to speak of the qualifications of the persons to be Married.

CAP. IX.

*Quæ requirantur in Marito.*

**T**HE Conditions required in a Husband were these. First, he must be no stranger; for if it could be prov'd that he was; both his goods and he too were sold, and the third part of the price went to the informer. Secondly he must be no lesse then five and thirty yeares old, according to the *Law*; and according to <sup>a</sup> *Aristotle* two yeares elder. But <sup>a</sup> *Polit. 7.* according to <sup>a</sup> *Hesiod* a little younger, or a little elder is reasonable enough.

Μήτε τριηκοῦτων ἐτίων μάλ' ἄλλ' ὀπλοῖπων

A a 2

Mit'

μὴτ' ἐπιδίωμαλα πολλὰ.

Thirdly if the Woman with home he was to Marry, were ἐπικληθεῖ, sole daughter and Heire (such a one as *Aristophanes* in *Vespis* calls ἐπιθαμνήδε or πατρύχον) he must be one of the same house, and the next of the blood. But then there alwales were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have known the like in other matters) some others of the kindred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the businesse with him, and plead to the same, and then such Women were called ἐπίδοι, <sup>b</sup> and the whole suit Ἀμειβήτοις: The question was wont to be decided by the *Pretor*. Lastly, he must not be one that had another Wife yet living with him, at least he might not be so, upon paine of being accounted a fellow of no account, or repute among the Citizens, for *Charondas* having made this Law, μὴτ' εὐδαμείδω μὴτε υπερχευ λόγῳ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὁ πωστὴν αὐτῷ υπερχευ ἐπάγων, whosoever shall super-inducere *novercam*, let him be ἀτιμῶ, &c. Besides the hurt done to the Children (it being as good to have the Divell to their Dame, as a *Stepdame*) gave one pretty reason more against being the Husband of two Wives in this sense, by way of dilemma: you shall have his words, as I found them in <sup>a</sup> *Arsenim* his Ἀποφθέγματα Φιλοσόφων &c, saies he, Ἐἴτ' ἐπέτυχας ἢ γῆμαι τὸ πρῶτον ἀνηυρῶν κατὰ παυσον: Ἐἴτ' ἐκ ἐπέτυχας μανικὸν τὸ πρῶτον δ' ὡς τις λαβεῖν σάριν. ἢ ἢ ἀληθείας ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς περὶ γάμων ἀμαρτάνων ἀφ' ὧν ἂν δικαίως νομιθεῖν, If thou hadst good luck in thy first Wife, thou shouldst have kept thee well while thou wast well: if thou hadst not, thou art a little better then a Foole or a Madman, to stumble againe at the same stone.

b 1. Poll. l. 3.  
c. 3.

a *Moemabasia*  
*Archiepis*.

## CAP. X.

*Qua requirantur in Uxore.*

THE Qualifications required in a Wife, were these. First, she must be *free*, before she put her neck in the *yoake*. For otherwise the Marriage was counted *πυρρος* rather than *γαμος*, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Hesiod*) *κλήτην ἐγαυροῦ* — — — If she were a stranger, she must pay soundly for it, no lesse then a thousand *δραχμαίς* to the City. This Law though it were for a time *let down* by *Pericles* his ill example, yet it was *brought up* againe by *Aristophon*. Secondly, she must be six and twenty yeares of age. And yet *Aristotle* even in <sup>b</sup> *Policy* can be very well contented to let the Woman Marry at eighteen. Out of indulgence to the Sex surely: for else he thinks it very unfitting they should Marry so young: both because *ἐν τοῖς περὶ πόλιν μάλιστα*, &c. they travell with a great deale more labour, and labour for their travell with a great deale more intemperance; and also because he had observ'd that in those places where they used to make such hast, *ἀπλείς καὶ μικροὶ πόσσματα*, the Puppies for the most part were blind, not so perfect, or not so bigge of stature as else they would be. But then there is \* another \* *Hesiod. Oper* who would be willing to let them Marry a yeare or two sooner then he,

Ἢ γ' ἄντι τῆς ἡβῆς, πέμπω καὶ γαμοῖν.

And <sup>a</sup> another sooner yet (if I do not mistake)

Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς ἡβὴν ἦλθεν, ὥραιον γάμον.

<sup>a</sup> *Enrip. in Hel.*  
v. 12.

*Cum ad pubertatem venit, tempestivis nuptiis.*

Thirdly, she must be but one, and no more according to <sup>b</sup> *Athenaus*; and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reason of the scarcity of men, to make the more hast for a recruit, they <sup>b</sup> *L. 13.* made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine; whom they made use of only *ad noncumbendum* for the present occa-



sion) and that Children begotten upon such a Woman were accounted for γυνῆσι, as good as the best. And what will you say, if *Socrates* himselfe made use of this liberty? For I have read he did, and that besides *Xanthippe* the shrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the daughter of *Aristides*, of which two it is said, that upon a time they fell out, and were presently reconcil'd again by their Husband, who told them, it was a shame for two handsome Women as they were thus to fall out for one unhandsome man. But \* others there be againe that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot see how the Etymology could hold water, καὶ οὐδ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος ἢ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος. Unlesse you will have the man to stand out. *Hermione* herselfe, though she were *super inducta* over *Andromache's* head, did altogether dislike the encrease of the number.

— ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος

δοῖν γυναῖκοις ἄλλοις ἢ ὅτι ἔχουσιν.

\* Rhod. Panathæus.

a Eurip. An.  
drom. v.177.

Which words of hers were presently seconded by those of the Chorus.

Ἐπιδόλον τι χεῖμα δηλητῶν ἔσθ',

Καὶ συγγάμεισι συζυγίαις μάλισ' αἰεὶ.

Such envious things the Women are,

That fellow-wives they cannot beare.

And verifi'd they have been not onely by her owne example in conspiring the death of *Andromache*: but by the ordinary practice of other such Wives among the Greeks, especially in the Country of *Epirus*, when one to bring the Husband out of love with the other, made use of Magicall devices, especially such as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and so consequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way then a *partu retinere maritos*. Thus *Neoptolemus* was made to hate his wife *Hermione*, as she suppos'd, and so she told the other.

b Eurip. ib.

a Juven. Sat. 2.

— συγγάμεισι δ' αἰνῶσι φαρμάκοις οἷσι

Νηδὺς δ' αἰνῶσι δὴ σὺν αἰσὶ δὶδιδυται.

When such courses as these are taken

*Turgida*

<sup>b</sup> *Turgida non prodest conditâ pyxide Lyde*, Neither the <sup>b</sup> *Juven. ib.* keeping of a Spider in a boxe, nor the lash of a naked *Lupercus* will do any good. Fourthly, she might be halfe a sister to the Husband, so it be meant not *δουούρησι*, or *δμεγά-  
σπιδ*, or *uterina*; but only *δμοπατρει*, by the Fathers side, or *germana*, as the word is used by *Æmilius Probus*; (whether in its *germane* sense I know not) where he speaks of *Cimon's* marrying his Sister *Elpinice*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio so-  
rorem germanam suam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore, quâ  
patrio more ductus: nam Atheniensibus licet eoaē patre natas Ux-  
ores ducere* This act of *Cimon's*, *Athenaus* thinks to have been L. 13. done *ἀγνόως*, contrary to the Laws, & so in a clancular way. But *Plutarch* saies he did it in a publik manner, not only by making her his Concubine to lye with him *συνεῖναι*, (as he terms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning *συνουσία*, but *συνοικεῖν*, \* taking her into his house to live with him, and that for a lawfull cause, (as he thought) *viz.* because she was to seek of a Husband fit for her condition. But for all this, I do not see how he could by a Grecian well be excus'd, for *Hermione* (in the place above commen- ded) made it alike *barbarous*.

— παῖς τὲ ἀντὶς ἢ μὴ γυνὴν

Κόρη τ' ἀδελφὴ —

When Son is joyn'd with Mother,  
Or Sister with the Brother.

Unlesse you will maintaine the goodnesse of the practise then, by the greatnesse of the Person that used it before, I meane *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one birth, and one bed, (when they pleas'd) Fifthly, she must be no Bastard, unlesse she were intended for a Bastard-maker, and in a *Proletarians* manner, only for *breed*, I meane for a Concubine: for such I take to be little better then what *Tal-  
thibius* once said poore *Cassandra* was like to be made by *A-  
gamemnon*, *viz.* *α λυττων σκόπανυμοδότης*, and the Children <sup>a</sup> *Eurip. in  
Troad. v. 251.* little better then *σκόδιον*, if the Father were more in the dark.

As

As for the Portion or Estate, she was either ἐπίκληρος, one that had no Brother, and was Heire to the whole Estate: or ἐπιμοίρηος; that had a Brother, and no more then her part, or a portion. The greatest distinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a ποίξ, or a portion. Insomuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἀπόρητος; yet he would have the γραῖα, the Writings, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the best. Those writings were sign'd and seal'd in the presence of witnesses, and the man did ἐνέχεον τὴν ἀποτίμησιν, make over to the Woman some House or Land in exchange, and this they call'd ἀποτίμημα.

a Harpocr.

# CA P. XI.

## De Divortiiis.

**A**Nd now that they are Married, the Husband was to lye with the Wife thrice in a Month (once for every part; for they divided their Month into three parts,) or else if she were an ἐπίκληρος she might goe to another, unless he were able to excuse himselfe by a lawfull impediment. Such as coming from Funerals is accounted by <sup>b</sup> Hesiod in those words of his:

b I. 2.

Μὴ δ' ἔσθ' οὐδ' ἐν Κοινοῖσι παρὲς θάνατον ἔσθ' ἔτι  
Σεβμαίνων γυναικί.

Or by any other unseasonableness of time: for that they thought some times more seasonable then other, and some fitter to beget Men-children then Women, may appeare by the words of the same Poët: speaking of the sixth day of the middle part of the Month.

Ἀνδρόγονος δ' ἀγαθὴ κέρη δ' ἐς σήμερος ἔσθ' ἔτι.  
And a little after of two other dayes.

Ἐθλὴ δ' ἀνδρόγονος δεκάτῃ, κέρη δ' ἐπετετρα.

But if they were about any solemne Sacrifice to the Gods, be the time what it would, it could never be lucky for either.

And



and therefore at such times they used (as well as the Israe-  
lites) to abstaine altogether, or *ἀγνῶς ἔχειν*, pure *habere*, as the  
Poët call'd it in *Asinario*.

*Si forte pure velle habere dixerit.*

If a Wife that was an *ἐπικληρονομή* were overlaid, or any way  
abusi'd by her Husband, she might have a Write *ἡλικίας* &  
*ἐπικληρονομίας*, otherwise called *ἐπιγυμνήσιον*, and be suffered to  
leave him; and this they call'd *ἀπολείπειν*: whereas if the  
Husband would part with her, it was call'd *ἀποστέμνειν*, be-  
cause he might tarry in his own house, and be rid of her  
company never the lesse. But one thing I must tell you too,  
that for either party to leave, or to put away the tother, was a  
thing alwaies very much detested among the Grecians. In-  
somuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the custome was for  
so many Men and Women to meet in the darke, and every  
one to buy his pigge in the poke, the *Ephori* impos'd a mulct up-  
on *Lysander* himselfe for putting away one, that he did not  
like, for a better. But *ἀπολείπειν*, for the Woman to separate  
from the Man, 'twas a thousand times worse then *ἀποστέμνειν*,  
even flat Rebellion, or delinquency at the best. Heare but what  
*Medea* saies of it

a Schol. in A-  
ristoph. in Equit.

b Eurip. Med.  
v. 236.

—ὅς γ' ἔδωκεν ἡ παλλαγὰ

τοῦ ζῆνός, ἐξ ὧν τ' ἀνῆλθεν ὅσ' ἐν

Where she puts it for one of the priviledges which the Man  
enjoyes before the Women, to leave where he cannot like;  
whereas the poor Wife if she be well us'd tis true, *ζῆλον τὸς  
αἰών*—no life like hers —εἰ δ' ἄν, —but if ill —θανεῖν ἥτις there  
is no remedy but death, or she had better be out of the life. On the  
other side, what an honour they counted it to live content  
with one Wife; or one Husband in all: and what a dispa-  
ragement it was to Marry a Second, not onely after the Di-  
vorce, but even after the death of the former, a *Euripides* a In *Alcest.* v.  
will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alcestis*, thus 464.  
threatning her Husband, if he married againe, though she  
were dead.

Εἰς τὴν κακὴν ἔλπει πόσις λήχεσθαι τὸν πόσον  
 Ἡ μάστις ἐμοί γ' ἀνείη στυγερὰ.  
 But was it so indeed as *Medea* complained, and was the Woman to be miserable still without any hopes of redresse? no, for at length it was provided by the Law, that if she found the Conjugall yoke too strait, and had a mind to slip the Collar, she was to make her complaint to the *Archon*: who deputed other Judges to consider if the cause were lawfull, and so to give her a Bill of Divorce with this condition, that she engage her selfe by Band, never to returne to her Husbands house againe: and when this was done, she might either have her portion back againe from her Husband, or else serve him with a Writ *ἡ ποικίλος Κεῖς*, or allow her maintenance, and so much a Month for use, as long as he detained the mony.

## C A P. XII

*De Mulierum scleragogia, & servilibus ministeriis.*

**B**UT now whether the Woman reckon'd it sufficient cause to complaine, to be put to servile employments, I know not, such abuses as these were many times offered. I do not so much stand upon keeping of the Keyes, or making of the Bread; (whatever a *Hecuba* has complain'd of that employment) but the baser sort of services, such as fetching of Water upon their heads: which the poore old Maid in the *Poët* might justly make one of the saddest parts of her slavish condition.

(a) *Apud Eurip. Troad.*

v. 293.

(b) *Id. in Elect.*  
v. 55.

— τὸ δ' ἄγγε τὸ δ' ἐπεδράϊον ἔχε  
 φέρεται πηγάς ποταμούς μετέρχουαι.

It seems the Grecian Women their fashion of carrying Water, was the same that ours is now; nay and the Roman too: for *Ovid* saies of the Vestall Virgin her selfe (*Sylvia* I mean, when she went to fetch Water, and slept away her Maiden-head,

c L. 3. Fast.

head, a good caveat for all sleepy Servants.)

*Ponitur è summâ fertilis urna Comâ.*

And so likewise I did once conjecture that the men amongst them used to carry Water and other things too, much in the same manner as they do with us, I mean with things put about their necks, because of that which the Poët saies of Ulysses his Marriners, when they took in fresh Water in Sicily.

— ἀμφὶ δ' αὖ χεῖρῶν ὕδωρ ἔλαυνον ἰσχυροῖσι χερσίν.

Τόλμῃ δέ εἰσεντὰς κινὰ βορᾶς καχευμέναις

Κρωῖνας δ' ὕδρην ἄλῃς —

Now whereas I mention'd only fetching of Water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doores, which belonged to the Men; for to them on the other side, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing befeeming to meddle with any thing within doores, or so much as to know what was done there, τὸ μὲν δ' ἀνδρῶν τὰ ἐν τῇ αἰσίᾳ. ὡς ἡβουσα εἰδέναι, ἰοπεπεῖ. It is Aristotle's own *Oeconomicks*, at least καὶ τὴν δ' ἀ-

ροίαν, though not καὶ τὴν αἴσιν (to use the words of *Tusanius* sometimes professor at *Paris*, who translated into Greek againe, that part of the Book which concerns Man and Wife, the Originall being lost, and only a Latine translation of one *Arthetinus* left) And very good reason you will say there is, for her to be excus'd from labour abroad, that must keep so close at home, and yet travell too, which close confinement

made *Medea* thus bemoane the Wives condition! If any thing grieves her (saith he) she has no more company to make known her griefe unto, then μίαν ψυχῶν, her owne poor soule: And whereas they object that the *Hushanâ* goes to Warr, and does this and that, I for my part saies she

— ἢ τίς αὖ μάλα τῶν ἀνδρῶν (dono a still yest she to a Man)

— ἢ τίς αὖ μάλα τῶν ἀνδρῶν (dono a still yest she to a Man)

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*Euip. in Med.*  
v. 244. to 251.



Portion; and therefore *Hermene* told *Andromache*, that in this she came behind her, though she were otherwise the first Wife: *my Father* (saies she) *sent me hither in a liberall manner.*

*a Eurip. Androm.*  
v. 153.

3 Πονοῖς οὐκ ἔδωκε: ὡς ἐλδοσιεσσομένη.

With many a good thing. That having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too: Only you that brought nothing with you must go to doores. And she that cannot pay, must be sure to pray. This argument of hers, her Waiting-maid afterward bandy'd back to her again, to put her out of her feare that her Husband would put her away. For (saies she) he did not take as a Captive, or so, *β. οὐκ ἀποδοῖς ἔδωκεν*, he had something with you.

*b Ib. v. 872.*

### C A P: XIII.

#### *De Mulierum honestioribus opificiis.*

THE employments most usuall and least dishonourable, were seeing things handsome and neat in the house, and providing for the Workmen abroad: take in *Electras* own words:

*a Eurip. Electr.*  
v. 75.  
*d I. Poll. l. 7. c.*  
10.

— — — — — τὰν δούλει δ' ἡμᾶς χεῖρα

ἔδωκεν ἔειπεν, ἐν ὁσὶν δ' ἐργάτην ἔσται.

or else working at any kind of Lanifice, either at *δξαρτικὴ* the tozing (shall I say) or the carding of the Wooll? or *σπιντικὴ*, when they went to spinne out the *σπιν* or *stamen*, and *διζέειν* (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the rest of the Wooll; or last of all at *ὕφαντικὴ*, the Weaving and joyning the *σπινες* together, with the help of the *Κίρρις*, (the *pecken* or the *sley* like a comb) and the *ἀγροδεῖς*, or the *ἀεία*, smooth stones (like our smooth lace-sticks, that they might not weare) which hung at the end of the threds. The posture in Weaving was more anciently a standing, but at length (when they were weary) it came to sitting (with the Romans at least) excepting when they made plaine worke

*a Serv. ad*  
*Aen. 8.*

worke, *recta* as the Latines call'd it, down *right* with one thred a crosse and no more ; for there was *οικιατικη* too, and a great deale of variety in some workes, as well as severall sorts of workes in the trade ; which was the cause why <sup>b</sup> *Jon* <sup>b</sup> *V.* 14. 18. in *Euripides* when *Crensa* told him of a Bearing cloth of her owne Weaving, askt her of what sort of making it was.

Ποιοῦντι, πολλὰ παρδίων ὑφάσματα.

Vnlesse you will confine this *οικιατικη* to the Virgins ( as you may seeme to have cause from the words but now produc'd ) and the Wives and Mothers ( or their servants for them ) to the plainer work. As it is said, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas parentes boni ominis causâ liberis confici curabant*, saies *Festus*, the parents among them would make their Children none but *plain Cloaths*, to shew they must use themselves to *plaine dealing*. And seeing Weaving was a worke well be seeming the better sort ( as appeares in *Crensa* the daughter of no worse man then *Erichemus* a King of *Athens*, and that noble Lady *Penelope* ) I cannot but wonder at *Electra*, if she have put it among her complaints in that verse,

Ἀυτὴ ἔειμ' ὅδε καὶ κίσι πέπλος.

That she was kept to Weaving. For ( it may be ) her complaint was, rather that she could not be her owne Woman, and Weave for her selfe, but must be still winning and never wearing, and starve in the Cooks shop. I must tell her thus much from <sup>a</sup> *Aristotle*, if she liv'd in a state of levelling Democracy, though she were a married Woman ( as she was <sup>a</sup> *Polit.* l. 6. c. 143. but *πολυχρονία παρδίων* ) that or any worke else would have been thought too much to little purpose. For saies he in such a case, τοῖς ἀπύροις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι καὶ γυναῖξιν καὶ παισὶν ὁ(περ ἀκοῶν) διὰ τὴν ἀδελφάν, she must be forc'd to do things her selfe for want of Servants, and so there could be no such thing at all as *Gynaecomy*, which might give the Wife any priviledge at all.

## CAP. XIV.

## De Uxorum &amp; Filiarum Oecuria.

**N**OW the Wives besides their *γυμναστήριον*, (their Bed-chamber shall I call it, or their Attiring roome, or their Dining-roome, just as the men had their *ἀνδράνα*) had their *θαλάμων ἱστῶν* too, to worke in, as the Virgins had their *παρθενῶναι* to play in, for I feare me, *vides chambres font dames folles* and *Agamemnon* is of my mind.

b I. Poll. l. i. c. 8

c Eurip. Iphig.  
in Aul. v. 737

*Καὶ τὰς γ' ἐν οἴκῳ μὴ μόνας εἶναι κόρας.*  
That Maids at home shud not be left alone.

Tis true they were kept from gadding abroad. In so much that a man would think they had Sentinels set at their Chamber-doors, by the words immediatly following the former,

*Ὅχι· οἱ παρθενῶναι φρενὲνται καλῶς.*

And if their Daughters not yet shut fast in Wedlock, were kept so in safe custody; and as it were, in Prison (for which their *ἐκκεῖα*, things which their Parents gave them to keep them quiet, was a small amends) what strong guards think you would they put upon their Wives; when they ty'd them up as good as ever any King in *Epirus* had to keep his daughter, if we may believe the complaint of one of their Women, in one of their Poets:

a Aristoph. in  
Thesmop.

— *ἢ γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει*

*Στρατιῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει ἢ καὶ μὲν καὶ*

*την τῆς ἡμῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν*

*τῶν καὶ τῶν καὶ τῶν καὶ τῶν καὶ τῶν*

— besides the seals

Upon the Womens Chambers, barres they lay

To make us sure; nay more, their Massive curs

They keep to fright adulterers away.

No wonder then if the House-keepers of Athens, were *ἐκκεῖα* House-dogs (as we call them) or *Keep-houses*, when it was so



so hard a matter to get abroad, if it were for nothing but the trouble and the charges. In which sense you may well take that of the same Poët in *Lysistrata*: χαλεπὴ γυναικῶν ἔξοδος. For if at any time they got forth (as a great many of them were φιλέξοδοι, of a gadding Gossiping humour) they must be sure to have the attendance of Maides, and their γυναικείους κόσμους, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Women about them: and if they were found defective herein, there were γυναικόκομοι (as they call'd them) officers of purpose, who had power to impose a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was a posted up upon a certaine plane-tree, which they had in the *Ceramicus* for every one to read. But what do I talk of going, when as Fathers and Husbands, were so hard or so jealous, as not to suffer their Wives and Daughters so much as to look abroad: or if they were suffer'd by them they should be sure to suffer themselves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maide took up her Mistresse so short, when she went forth at doores in a passion.

<sup>a</sup> I. Poll. l. 8. c. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Ἄλλ' εἰ σιδήσῃ, ὡς δὲ πάντας δούλων

Παρθένῃς ἢ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀφ' ὧν λαβὴς

Πρόδωκεν ὡς δὲ δούλῳ, τὸν δὲ δούλῳ.

But, pray, get in, and shew not thus your selfe

Before the house, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Eurip. in *Androm.* v. 876.

Where, I dare not say, the translator was *Phantastick*, to render *δαντίζω*, *imagineris*: but what ever he saies, I cannot but imagine it fit for my purpose. Nay looking out at a window, was almost as bad as looking out at doore; *Κἂν ἐν θυρίδι παρὰ τὴν πόρταν* (as the Women complaine in *Thesmophoriazusa* \* where you may read more of their grievances) if they did put *peep* out, they would be thought to doe it, as other \* Women us'd to doe: and to draw in their head again, the better to draw out the affection of the beholder. Nay farther yet, I feare me, some of the Daughters had scarce the liberty to goe

<sup>\*</sup> Aristoph.

goe out of one room into another : for so it was with *Antigone*, when she went up to the top of the house to view the Army, as may well be conjectured by the words of her *Pædagogus* (a Tutor, such as to whom they committed the bringing up of their Children, Maids or Boyes.)

Eurip. Phœnis.  
v. 83.

Ἐπὶ σπηΐτῃ παρδενῶναι ἐκλιπείν  
Μεθ' ἡμέ.

Whether the Wives could change their Chambers without leave, I know not. I believe they could hardly do it without company, and the attendance of their Maids, as if they were going abroad : for so I remember *Penelope* went up to her Chamber, as *Homer* saies ;

Οὐκ ἔστιν ἄμα τῇ γυναικὶ ἀμειβόμενοι δὲ ἔσονται

The Womans owne private chamber, (*Gynæcitis*, *Gynaconites*, or *Gynæcon*, call it what you will) was (saith *Didymus*) δις ἑξήκοντα two stories high, like a nest, to make it the harder to climbe up to them : for (to tell you in his words) οἱ γὰρ αἰγῶναι τῇ γυναικὶ ἐν ἑσώτῃ τῶν θαλάμων καταδιόζοντες ἐστὶν ἀνελκόμενοι (τῇ). The People of ancient times, built their ἑσώτα their upper Chamber for the nonce. Ὡς and ἀνὰ they called them then, infomuch that *Helena* having been alwaies close bred up in such a chamber, is thought by some to be said to be hatcht of an Egge, either from the ovall fashion of the Roome, or the like signification of the name in the Greeke. Whether they went up by the Ladder, or a paire of staires, tis not so easy to determine, as it was to get up for when I call to mind what adoe the *Pædagogus* (whom I lastly mention'd) had to help up his Pupil by the hand, I am apt to thinke that κλίμαξ from the *Parthenon*, and the other to the *Gynæcon*, to have been a ladder, and not a staire-case : heare how she cries for help :

Ὅρε γὰρ νυῖ, ὅρε γὰρ γυναικῶν

Νέα χεῖρ ἐπὶ κλιμάκων

Πόλιν ἰχθὺς ἐπαυτέλλαν.

Such a κλίμαξ had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no such need of helpe ; for,

Κλίμαξ

Κνίματα δ' ὁ ἄνθρωπος καταβήσκει διὰ δόλου.

Now a Woman if she went about any worke that requir'd expedition, her fashion was εἰς γόνα ζώσαντα, as *Theocritus* a Id. 14. saies, to be *nuda genu*, to pin up her coat to her knees, but no farther, for feare of being taken for a doxie. Such a one as in *Hesiod* is called γυνὴ πυγώσα, me thinkes not so well rendred *nates ornata*, as \* *ad nates succincta*, from the *stola*, too \* ἀναστρουμένη. short to become the modesty of a Woman, or the use of the word among the Latins. I might here take occasion to speake a great deale of their apparell, and the other many ornaments which they used about their heads, their necks, their eares, their armes, and their fingers, and twenty other sorts of this kind, but because there has been promised a draught thereof from a pen able to doe it, I thinke it better to hold my hands. Besides, I am of *J. Pollux* \* his mind in \* L. 5. c. 2. this, that for a good many of those names which we find in Authors, where they speake of this kind of things, ἡ ῥάδιον τὰς ἱστὰς κυνοῦσαι, διὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι καὶ καταβῆναι, εἰς τὰς δαζούσας, εἰς τὰς πωζούσας, ἡ τὸ εὐνοῦσαι, 'tis hard to know what fashion the things were of, because it is hard to tell whether the Author be in jest or in earnest in the names.

## CAP. XV.

### De Adulterio.

IF a man had plow'd in another Mans ground, though not as a *Mæchus manifestarius*, \* but by enticements, and in a clancular way, and were taken ἐν ἔργῳ (as they cal'd it) *Platarch. in Bacchid.* in the fact; it was counted so much the worse, and he that found him, might abuse him as much as he pleas'd: yea & kill him too, if the Cuckold did desire it, (and no doubt, but sometimes he had *hay in his Horns*.) If the fellow had no mind to meddle with him himselfe, he might have him before the *Thesmotheta*, and cause him to be punished at the pleasure



\* Poll. l. 8. c. 9.

pleasure of the \* Judges. The ordinary manner of punishing an adulterer, had as little modesty as the crime it selfe. It was called either *ῥατιμὸς*, or *παρὰ τὰ δώδεκα* synecdochically the part for the whole; for having pluckt off the haire of his privities, they threw hot ashes in the place, and thrust up a Raddish or a Mullet into his fundament, according to that of *Juvenal*, *Quosdam machos & mugilis intrat*: Inso much that ever after he was disgracefully call'd *ῥατιμῶς*. A punishment little enough for so great a vice, so great I say, that *Solon* is thought to have tolerated the publick use of harlots (as I formerly told you) of purpose to prevent it. And for the Woman having thus violated the Lawes of the Gods (or the men rather, for they were better) she was not only forbid to go to the Temples, but if she went any where else with the ornaments and attire which other Women wore, it was lawfull for any that met her to take them, and teare them, and if her husband lay with her after, he was branded for *ῥατιμῶς*, a base companion. On the other side, if the Women were forc'd, and openly abus'd. the Adulterers punishment then was no more then a fine. And you will not so much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you consider how the other commits Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the Woman; and is so much the more dangerous of the two, as he that workes by a Mine, or can get in at a private way, then he that must break the door. For proof whereof, if the Adultery of *Aegisthus* and *Clytemnestra* which proceeded to the death of *Agamemnon* be not sufficient, I refer you to that practice of *Sisyphus*: who having on a time receiv'd an affront from *Drusus*, had no other way to be reveng'd. *Cuncta tentanti* (saies \* *Tacitus*) *promptissimum visum ad uxorem ejus Liviam convertere. hanc ut amore incensus adulterio pellexit, ad conjugii spem, consortium Regni, & necem mariti impulit.* In like manner, if a Man had ravish'd a young Woman, (so she were free borne) his <sup>b</sup> punishment was a fine, viz. a thousand

\* L. 4. *Annal*b *Isaus pro Pyrrh.**Drachma*

*Drachma* : but then besides that, he was to marry her too ( unlesse it could be made appeare she had taken something of him in consideration ) which puts me in mind of a story of the *Messenian* in *Pausanias*, who to compell *Aristodemus* to give him his Daughter to Wife, pleaded that he had brought her with child : whereupon he to evidence the contrary, kild her with his owne hand, and cut up her belly worse then *Virginus*. There was a time when a ravisher of a Virgin was to be ston'd shall I say, or press'd to death, for they called such a punishment *λαίη* & *χτών*, as some say upon these words of *Homer*.

*Λαίηον ἔωσι χτῶνα κακῶν ἐνέχ' ὄψα θορυαί.*



C c 2

LIB. 5.





# LIBER QUINTUS.

## CAP. I.

### *De Puerperarum Religione, &c.*



THE Athenians (saies Plutarch in his *Marriage-exhortations*) had three sacred plowings. One in the *Sciron*, another in the *Raria*, and another called *Bazugion*: but yet, saies he, ὁ παῖ-  
ταν ἐξωπτέθ' ὅτιν ὁ γαμήλιος ἀπὸρθε, καὶ ἀρεσθ'  
ἐπὶ παῖδων τεκνώσει, the plowing for Children

is the best Husbandry. In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very futable to a *Conjugal* condition) he agrees with the expressions commonly used by the Greeks of *χωὼν*, and *Ἀρεσθ*, and

\* L. 7. 67. Αὐλαξ, concerning the Women. For as \* *Aristotle* saies in his *Politicks*, πολλὰ οὐκ ἐστὶν ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὰ κρῶμα καὶ τὰ χεῖρες, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ θύρα καὶ τὰ γῆρας: as also with the use of the word *ἀρεσθ'* for to *beget*, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἠρώδ', & in his *Antigo-*

ne ἀρώσων in the same sense. So *Aristanetus* <sup>a</sup> in one of his *Epistles* (speaking of a Woman to be Married) saies ἐπ' ἀρόσῳ παῖδω. And *Moschus* hath an *Epigram* of purpose upon *Ἐρω*: Ἀεσθίον. The Latin word *Sator* answers very well to it, and so would.



would *Insitor* to the word βλάση a bud, and βλαστάνειν, so commonly used in *Sophocles* and other Authors in the same sence. Now for a Woman with Child, it was sometime the custome for about forty daies before her time, to abstaine from going to the Temples, and pray at home. But then *Aristotles*\* advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to goe every day a Pilgrimage a certaine journey, to do service to one or other of the Gods of Generation, ἥ δ' εἰληχότων τῷ περὶ τὸ γένεσθαι τιμὴν, and his reason was, that they might not παθυμεῖν grow *unlusty* by sitting still, but by this kind of travelling prepare their body for a worse: as *Plutarch* saies, *Lycurgus* caused the Maids of *Sparta* to use the exercise of wrestling, and coyting, and shooting and the like, that by this meanes having confirm'd their owne health and strength, they might make the stronger Children, and might the better ἀγωνίζονται πρὸς τὰς ἀδελφάς, wrestle with the *throwes*. The Principall God whom they pray'd unto, especially in the time of travell was *Diana*, called by them Ἐλεεινὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλεεινῆς, from her readinesse to come to the Woman at a call, or a crying out:

— *Aperire partus.*<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Horat. Carm. Sac.*

*Lenis Elithia* —

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and her handy-nesse or *dexterity*, and willingnesse to performe, she was worshipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria*, quod amputarent facile Conceptam alvum egerere, saies *Festus*, and sometime under the name of *Facilina*,

— *Facilina templa Diana.*<sup>b</sup>

Either a *face*, because she was painted with a Torch in her hand; (as if she did but hold the Candle to it) and so was *Elithia* by the *Greeks*, ὅτι γυναιξὶν ἐν ἱερῷ καὶ πῦρ εἶσιν αἱ ἀδελφές, (saies *Pausanias* in *Arcadicis*) because the paines of a Travell are so hot: or else from *facilis*, easy and without difficulty to be won.

— *Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis.*<sup>c</sup>

being likewise <sup>c</sup> *Ovid. Fast. l. 2.*

d Id.

likewise for the same reason called by the Greekes *Παιδια*: as by *Orpheus*, by whom she is also termed *Θηλειὰ Σώτηρα*, and *ὠδινὸν Ἐταίρω*, and *Ἰκθυόχαια*, because she stood still ready as it were at the *adore*, and was alwaies at hand to doe the worke of a hand-woman — *tu voto parturientis ades*. Or lastly from *facilis*, *easy*, and *without paine*, because she gave the Woman *facilem partum*, as he saies,

*Ut solvat partus molliter illa suos.*

For the same cause, they gave her also the title of *Γενεῖα* as the Latins did that of *Genitalis*.

*Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,*

*Seu Genitalis :*

To this purpose I remember a jest related by *Cicero* of one *Timæus*, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Ephesus* neer about the time that *Alexander* was borne: *Non esse mirandam, quod Diana occupata in adjuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro gravida domo abisset*: that it was no wonder, because *Diana* was taken up in helping *Olympia*. And yet this jest (as dry as it is) *Plutarch* is so far frō liking, that he saies it was cold enough to have extinguisht those flames. Last of all she was also called *Παιδια*, quasi *τῆς τοῦ σώτος ἐλπίδος* ἢ *βρεφὸς ἐτοῦ*, saies the <sup>a</sup> *Scholiast*, as much as to say *Lucifera* or *Lucina*. For by this name she was most of all adored by the Romans too, according to that of *Ovid*:

*Dicite, tu nobis lucem Lucina, dedisti :*

*Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.*

<sup>b</sup> L. 2. de Nat. Deor. Now this *Lucina* (saith <sup>b</sup> *Cicero*) was nothing but the Moon:

<sup>c</sup> L. 4. de Ling. Lat. *Luna à lucendo nominata est, eadem est enim Lucina*. And the Moon being (as *Varro* saith) *nascentiū dux*, was therefore worshipped by the womē in travel, *quod partus maturescant septē aut nonnunquā novem Luna cursibus*: or because the Moon by the filling and opening moisture of her influence, *graviditates & partus afferat, maturitatesq; gignendi*, as the *Oratour* said in the same place. If you chance to meet with a *Plurall number*, as you have in *Homer* — — — *μοῖρ' ἔσται Εἰλαΐδην*, and in *Aristotle*

<sup>a</sup> *Aristoph: in Lucif.*

ft. *τῆς θεᾶς καὶ ἀλλήλων, &c.* you may take it to be in reference only to severall names of one and the same *Diana*, and in especiall manner to those three, viz. *Lucina* in Heaven, *Diana* above ground, and *Proserpina* beneath, in regard to which the Women among the Latins used to call her *Diva triformis*; in their prayers at the time of Child-bearing,

*Qua laborantes utero puellas  
Ter vocat a' audis, adimisque letho  
Diva triformis.*

*Diana* should be a Gentle-woman by the number of her names. *Diana*, I said; for that was the ground; or the principall name: all the other names seeme to be but the descant, or so many *Epithetes*, and *Sur-names* upon it. So in *Euripides* his *Hippolytus* you have

Τὴν δ' αὖλοχον Ὀυρανίαν  
Τόζων μετέσθ'  
Ἄρτιον,

In another tragedy, Περσεὺς Ἄρτιον λοχῆαν: and,

— οὐδὲν δὲ πιν δέῃ. Ἄρτιον or *Diana* stands still the substantive, and all the rest hang like so many Adjectives. Besides these to the Moone, they talke of other Sacrifices to they know not whom themselves, whom they worshipped by the name of *Τειποταῖρες*, *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briareus* say some. So many winde say one <sup>a</sup> (that which is thought <sup>a</sup> *Etymol.* *Di-* to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables.) But what <sup>Etymol.</sup> have women to doe with the Winde? it can blow them no good, but a *Tympany*, and so puffe them up with the conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* calls them by the name of *Amalcides*, *Protoclias*, and *Protocreon*; and *Philchorus* saies, they were the three first men that were begotten. And here I must tell you of somewhat to be done by the Husband too, for he was to Sacrifice to the Nymphs; and pray to them then for the bringing forth of the child, as he was afterwards to give them thanks for bringing it up. And thus much I conjecture by those words of *Orestes*, when one told him that



that he saw *Ægysthus* Sacrificing to the Nymphs.

*Æurip: Elect.*  
l. 616.

<sup>a</sup> Τερπία παίδων, ἢ περὶ αἰμονιᾶς τῶν;  
For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

## CAP. II.

*De puerperio, seu factu Masculo.*

FOR the place where they lay in, whether it were a Chamber kept of purpose for that use I cannot tell; neither durst I conclude as much by the λόχοι θαλαμῶν in *Enripides* where speaking of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, he saies,

b l. *Bacch. v. 96.*

<sup>b</sup> Λοχοῖς δ' αἰνικαῖσι

δέξατο θαλαμῶν.

At the time of travel, they were wont to take *Palm* branches and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a vertue either to conquer the paine, (for a *Palme* branch was a token of *Conquest*) or to make them *beare up* under the burthen the better, (for no weight will make a palm-branch goe downward) according to that of *Theognis*:

—διὰ τέκα πότνια Λητώ

φοῖνικ' ῥαδιῆς χερσὶν ἑσταλμένην.

c *De Civ: Dei*  
l. 15. c. 22.

I do not read that ever before travell they stood in feare of such things as *Incubi*, and *Fauni* and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as *St Austin* saies) suppos'd those *Hobgoblins* *improbos saepe exitisse mulieribus, & earum appetisse, ac peregissee concubitum*. Or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpose to sit up all night, one with an *Axe*, and another with a *Pestle*, and another with a *Broome*, cutting, and beating, and sweeping at the thresholds to keep a *Sylvanus* off him: I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it happened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the building of their house? (as the Hebrew phrase is) for *partu viri fundavit familiam*, saies \* *Apuleius*, such a one they accounted as a *Pillar* thereof, Κίονα δύνον, saies *Lycophron* of *Heſior*, and Τεγλὰς ἀμαρην κίονο, saies *Pindar* of the same

a *Ibid: l. 6. c. 9.*

\* *L. 10. Met.*

same, *Iphigenia* her selfe, when she dreamt of the fall of a house, could interpret the Pillars for so many Sons. For saies she,

Σπῆλοι γὰρ οἶκον εἰσὶ πύλαι ἀρσενες.

The Males are pillars of a family.

And very good reason the men should beare the name of the Pillars of the house, if the Pillars of the House can beare the name and the figures of the men. As they doe many of them to this day. Names they made choyce of the best, such as *Ἀτλαντες* among the Greeks, and *Telamones* among the Latins: but indeed the figure was commonly of the worst, with a bunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibbosi*, according to that in *Martial*

—*Ridetur Atlas cum Compare Gibbo.*

Besides in ancient time, twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar in stead of a *Statue*, or the Image of a man.

### CAP. III.

*De infantibus lavandis & ungendis.*

THE Child as soone as it was borne, was washt in Water (or else in Wine, if they follow'd the *Lacedemonian* <sup>a Plut. or Ly-</sup> fashion, and desir'd to prove, shall I say, or to improve the <sup>cure.</sup> strength of the Infant.) Of this washing mention is made in *Plautus* his *Amphytrion* thus,

*Postquam peperit pueros, lavare jussit, nos occipimus.*

*Sed puer ille quem ego lavi, ut magnus est & multum valet!*

And so likewise in *Lycophron* (for I think it may be meant of the child, as well as the Mother) where he speaks of *Priamus* his putting to death the Infant *Munippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla*, rather then *Hecuba* her sister, and her sonne *Alexander*) though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill *τὴν τέκετάν τε τὸ γυναικίον*, the Mother and the Child, he did it saies he.

Πεῖν δὲ λοχεῖαι γυναῖκα χυτῶσαι δρότρῳ.

from which verse (after I have started the question how he came to be called *Munipprus*, if he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occasion given to tel you more of this matter. For the Scholiast notes upon the word χυτῶσαι, that after they had washt the body with Water (heated I suppose it was; and used only for the cleansing of the body) they anointed it with oyle, kept in a κύτλον, or a vessell so called, which they had for that purpose. The reason I believe to be the same, for which they did it at other times upon the elder sort, viz. ἵνα οἱ πόροι ὑπὸ θερμῆς ἀνεωχθέντες κλειδῶσιν ὑπὸ τῆ ἐλαίας ἐπιπληματικῇ ὄντει, (as the <sup>a</sup> Scholiast has it) to close up the pores againe after they had been open'd by the hot water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of anointing, was so constantly used just after the washing, that you shall have the word χυτῶσαι, sometimes used to signify the same, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Jupiter*.

<sup>a</sup> In *Aristoph.*  
*Plut.*

—ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἀπὸ δ' ἔχτο κόλπον  
αὐτῆς δίζητο ῥόον ὕδατος, ὥκε τὸ κοῖο  
λύματα χυτῶσαιτο.

<sup>b</sup> L. 9. *Dionys.*

In allusion to this χυτῶσαι <sup>b</sup> *Nonnius* calls the birth of *Bacchus* ἀχὺτῶτον λοχεῖω. For coming from so cleane a place as *Jupiter's* thigh, he had no great need of washing.

CAP.



## CAP: IV.

## De Cunabulis, &amp;c.

THE Child being washed, it was wrapt in a cloth Woven for the purpose by the Mother in the time of her Virginity; as may be conjectured by that which *Creüsa* made for *Ion*. In this cloth the *Erethide* wrought the Image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva's Aegis*, by the help whereof *Persens* had cut it off. Besides the likenesse of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva's* own command, and in memory of *Eristhonius*: who being born of nothing but *Vulcans* seed spilt on the ground in forcing of the goddesse, and having feet like a Dragon was exposed and committed by her, to the custody of two vigilant Dragons.

— ὅθεν Ἐρεχθίδας ἐκείνη

Νόμῳ τὴν ἔσθην, ὅρεσθον ἐν χρυσάλοις

Τρέφειν τέκνα.

Eurip. in Ion.

v. 25. & 14. 27

Saies the Poët: and from thence came the custome I speak of. And yet perhaps neither those Dragons, nor the others in imitation of them, were any thing else but emblems, used by the authors to expresse the narrow and watchfull care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the child; for so they are like to have been assigned for keepers of other things too, as of the apples of the *Hesperides* &c. & that because of their quickness of sight, according to *Festus*: *Dracones dicti ὅτι τὸ σπᾶν, quod est videri: clarissimam enim habebant oculorū aciem quā ex causā incubantes eos thesauris custodia causā finxerunt*. Being wrap'd in the cloth in stead of being put in a cradle, it was either lay'd upon a *Clypeus*, as an omen of fortitude in a time of Warre: (& thus was *Hercules* himselfe, and the *Lacedemonians* generally used; thus also the \* *Celte* used the children when they threw them into the *Rhene*;) or else upon a *Vannus* or *Ventila-*

Strabo, l. 7.

labrū quod alimentorum copia & bonitatis Symbolum conjectabant, saies Rhodiginus, as an omen of peace and plenty.

## CAP. V.

*De infantis gestatione circa focum, & de nominis impositione.*

**W**Hen the child was five daies old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running : perchance to initiate him to the *Lares*, and make him one of the house. At the same time the custome was for the Midwives to wash their hands. Now in token of joy for having a child the Parents bedecked their house with Garlands, and in congratulation the kindred that intended to be at the naming feast, sent their *γυναικες δότες* (as *Aeschylus* calls them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have used to do with us at a *Christning*. The things which they sent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepia*, whether as rarities, or for what reason, I am yet to seeke. The verses of *Eubulus* cit<sup>d</sup> by *Athenens* c. 2. speaks as if those things were not kept till the feast, but us<sup>d</sup> the same day, as likewise Doves, and Thrushes, and coleworts with oyle, and tosted pieces of *Chresonesus*-cheese, and I know not what : the whole solemnity of the day is called *Ἀμειδιόμην*, and so is the *Genius*, or *γυναικες δότες, δεδωκεν Ἀμειδιόμην*, from the running about the hearth (which it seemes was plac<sup>d</sup> in the midst of the roome) or as we may call it, *Dauuncing about our cold fire*, for we read of no more but the hearth: but surely there must be a fire, for *Hesychius* saies, those that carried the child must be naked. The naming feast which I mention<sup>d</sup>, was kept upon the seventh day after the Birth, saies <sup>a</sup> *Aristotle* : and his reason is, because that day was observ<sup>d</sup> to be very criticall to most things, *τὸ πλεῖστον ὃ ἀναιεῖται καὶ πρὸ ἰσθμοῦ*, and therefore, saies he, when that day came, if they perceived the child to be well, then they presently gave it a name, *ὡς περὶ ὁστέας μάλιστα τῇ σαρκεῖα*, as presuming

<sup>a</sup> L. 7. de Hist.  
An.

it would continue so. But (with reverence be it spoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth night rather) because the feast which they kept was called *δεκάτη*, and those which then sacrific'd (for that was to be done first) were said to *δεκάτῃ θυεῖν*, or *δεκάτῃ ἐστῆσαι*: & at the same feast (saies *Snidas*) where the Kindred went to meet all together, to be witnesses (as we call it) to the naming of the child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia*. Again, besides the authority of a Scholiast upon the word *δεκάτη* (in *Avibus Aristophanis*) I have the plaine testimony of the Poët himselfe in the same Comedy in another place, where he brings in *Pistheteros* thus speaking of Athens, in an allusion to the custome.

οὐκ ἄρτι θυῶ τῷ δεκάτῳ τῶντος ἔγωγε  
καὶ τὸν αὖ αὖτις παῖδά τοῦ δὴ δέκα.

Now a Father might give what name he pleas'd to any of his children: but usually the eldest sonne was called by the name of the Grand-father. I cannot say that they kept this name, and had no more: for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd their condition. Thus the daughter of *Proteus*, when she came to be elder and wiser, assumed the name of *Theonoe*;\* thus *Leucippe* when she was bought, was new nam'd *Lacœna*; and *Ismenias*, *Atraces*, when he became enslav'd. And indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all to their Masters, who presently gave them new; such as they thought fit. Either from the Country, ὁ Συρῶ; or the colour and complexion, as ὁ ξανθός or ὁ πύρρῳς: or some good quality in him, as ὁ πρῶτος, and ὁ δρόμος, or else from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as ὁ Νεμεσίης. At Rome the Master gave them a name of their owne: but 'twas when they set them free, and so a new name was a token of liberty too: or of something better, as of an adoption, (when the adopters name was the better of the two) or some other good fortune: which made him in *Lucian*, when an Estate fell to him,

*Enstath. in Il.*

*Enr. Hel. v. 13.*

*\* Achil. Tat.*

*l. 5.*

*Enstath. l. 9.*

*Phoc. Biblioth. Cod. 279.*

*See Rev. 2. 17.*



to change his name from *Simon* to *Simonides*: and thus they took new names when they came to be made Kings; as among the *Persians* &c. or Gods, as every where besides, which appears in those names of *Palemon* and *Quirinus*, and a great many more.

## CAP. VI.

*De Puerperarum Lustrationibus.*

THE Mother after her delivery (though some say it was done after the first nights lying with her Husband) hung up her *Zona* to *Diana* *Λυσίζων*, *Cinxia* you may call her in Latine) and her clothes too (saies *Callimachus*) to *Diana* *Χιτών*. Untill she were purified, she was as carefully shund, as any Woman of the Jewes, insomuch that reckoning her among the *μαύματα*, they loathed to goe into the house where she lay, as much as if she had layen for dead: or if they happened to goe in unwittingly or by constraint; when they came forth againe, they would be sure to wash: whence that of *Diog. Laertius* in the life of *Pythagoras*, *ἐπὶ τῇ κήδεσσι καὶ λειχῇ καὶ μαύματι πάντες*: which puts me in mind of *Iphigenia* in *Euripides*: when bemoaning the condition of *Orestes*, whom the *Scythians* designed for a Sacrifice to *Diana*, she spake her mind so plainly in relation to her curiosnesse, to have no body come neer her, that came from a Woman in Child-bed, or a slaughter, or a funerall, &c. *I defy* (saies she) *the hypocrisy of that Goddesse whatever she be that shall take delight in the murdering of men, and yet notwithstanding out of purity, forsooth, shall forbid such and such to come neer her Altars.*

a *Iphig. in*  
*Taur. v. 380.*

—<sup>a</sup> *βρότων ἢ ὧς τις ἀφ' ἡμῶν*

*ἢ λοχείας, ἢ νεκρῶν διζὴν χροῖν*

*βουῶν ἀπέργει, ὡς τὰ ἴδη ἡγῶμεν.*

A saying so cutting to the folly of the best of the heathen Theology, that it would have sounded very well from the mouth

mouth of a Christian. For *Thucydides* saies, that the *Athenians* for feare the holy Isle of *Delos* should by this meanes be polluted, made a law, that no Woman should lie in for child there, but she must be remov'd to *Rhenia*, an Island neer adjoining. What day she was purified in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the question put in *Euripides* :

Δέγ' ἡλίας ἐν ὅσιν ἀγνῶει ληχῶ.

Whether it were at the time of the τεσσαρῆκοντος, the feast that was kept at the forty dayes end ( for so many dayes she was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before ) or whether it were ἐν δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδός, when the child was a *tenne* night old, ( as we say a seven night, counting nothing but the nights : for I doe not think tis the tenth *Month* ) I doe not well know : but *Electra* saies it was so,

δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδός, ὥς νομίζετω.

Whensoever the time was: the Woman, after she had wash'd away her λύματα in the river ( as *Rhea* did hers in the river *Lymax* so called from \* thence ) she her selfe was to Sacrifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a child: and her Husband \* *Pausan. in Ach.* to the Nymphes, for helping him to such a Wife : or both ( if you will ) to returne their thanks, that the child came in its due time. And this one calls παιδός ἀειδυὴν τελεσθόζον δύνειν. It may be in case of weaknesse, or if she were ignorant of rites ( as she might be at the first ) another did it for her, as *Clytemnestra* did for *Electra* upon her request. But indeed it should be the Midwife by right, as *Clytemnestra* her selfe confessed,

" Ἀλλ' ἡ τὸ δ' ἔργον, ἢ σ' ἔλυσ' ἐκ τῶκον.

*Eurip. Electr.*

During her lying in, the greatest part of her food was colewort.

v. 11. 28.

## CAP. VII.

## De Nutricibus.

\* Rhodig. ex  
Plat.

THE Nurses during the time of sucking, were called *τιλταί* (from *τιλθαι* the same that *μασσι* the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (*ἀπαλαυτίζεσθαι*) *τροφεὶ* dry Nurses. Now the custome was for the Nurses (the better to harden the Children *usu liberioris* \* *aura*, and to make the Nurses the more neat and cleanly) to be often carrying the children abroad in the waies, and in the streets: and in case they should be unquiet, the Scholiast upon those words of *Aristophanes*,

ὁ δὲ μοι χυτρίδιον ἀπογγίω βεβυζμένον.

Saies they were wont to have their sponge full of honey, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpose. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedæmonian* the fittest for a Nurse, (& such a one *Alcibiades* had himselfe) Or rather indeed the *Athenian* Women were so proud, that they counted it a disparagement to them, to be nurses themselves. And therefore the Woman in *Demosthenes*, when it was objected to her, that she had sometimes used this base employment, was faine to excuse it by the necessity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time. And so likewise you shall find *Hecuba* in *Enripides* complaining of her unhappinesse, that she must be forced to such an office as this was. When they would lull (as we call it) or lall a child asleep, they used *lallare* to cry *λάλα*, or *βωωκαλᾶν*, to sing songs to it. Their songs they called *κατεβωωκαλήσεις*, and sometimes *νοννία*: (for so is *nania* used in the Latine too, as in *Arnobius lib. 7. Somno occupari ut possint leves audienda sunt nania*,) such a kind of song is that in *Theocritus*.

Ἐὐδὲτ' ἐμὰ βρέφεια γλυκαρὸν καὶ ἐγέρεσιμον ἔπνον  
Εὐδὲτ' ἐμὰ ψυχὰ, δὴ ἀδελφεά, εὐσοα τέκνα

Ὁλ. 111



Ὅλβιοι ἐνυψίζονται καὶ ὀλβιοὶ ἀψύχοι.

Sleep my little soules, &c.

For thus they were wont to ὑποκρεῖσθαι to the child, calling it also sometimes παιδών or παιδωνεύς, or σμυρδονεύς, and the like,

CAP. VIII.

*De expositione Infantum.*

**B**UT we shall have no need to trouble our selves to get Nurses, if the child either dy of it selfe, or be *exposed* to dye by the Parent. If it die in the time of its infancy (before it had teeth, saies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold buriall without any fire, or any funerall sacrifice or solemnity in Mourning or otherwise. As being (in the words of \* *Ju- \* Sat. 6.* *venal*) *minor igne rogi*. Which practise is by *Plutarch* in his *Consolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to perswade her not to grieve for the death of her child, Saies he, ἡ περὶ τὴν δὴ τὴν πολυτελείαν παινηγμένην περὶ τὴν ταφὴν. The custom of *exposing* children, which the Grecians call ἐντίθεσθαι, with the people of ancient times was very usuall; it was exercised upon such children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. We \* read indeed that \* *Exod. 7. v. 2.* *Moses* was used thus, because he was *παιδίον* or a Godly child: but he was rather *hidden* from *Pharaoh*, then *exposed* to the river. This practice was in most places at the pleasure of the parent. But at *Sparta*, I read, that they took better advice: for there they had a Committee of purpose called by them Λέχαι appointed to examine every child, whether it were *ὑγιαίνον* or *ῥωμάλιον* sound, or not. The places where they exposed them, were sometimes Rivers and Lakes, such as *Moses* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by thier Vnkle *Amilius*; sometimes a sinke or a gutter, according to that in *Juvenal*.

—votaque sape

*Ad spurcos decepta lacus,*

Sometimes a deep pit, such as the *Lacedæmonians* had at *Taygetus* in common for all, sometimes Woods and desert places; such as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* saies: & in alta nemora pabulum misit feris *Avidis*— and sometimes the wide Sea, as *Iustin* saies of one *Habides*, (if that be his name,) *Gargoris Habidem nepotē suum in mare precipiti jussit*. If a child were exposed any where upon the Land, after they had swathed it τῷς σπαστράνοις fasciis, they put it in an earthen pot. Such a pot some would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* in *Terence* his *Andria*.

—verum vidi Cantharum

*Suffarcinatum*. As if it were *Suffasciatum*. Whereas others would have you read it *Cantharam*, for an old Woman of that name, and *suffarcinatam*, for as much as *succinctam*. It is sometimes called ὄρεαρον, as by *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, where he speaks of *Oedipus* thus,

—αὐτὸν γινώσκον

Ἐξέδρασαν ἐν ὄρεαρον—

And sometimes χύτρα, saies the Scholiast upon the same place, whence comes χυτρίζεν *exponere*. What kind of thing that ἀντή was, wherein *Creüsa* expos'd her Bastard in a rock in the *Acropolis*, or wherof it was made, I cannot so well determine. *Euripides* saies it was ἄγγος a vessel, and that *Ion* the child was wrapt up in a skinne, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

—ἀναμύξας κύλῳ

Ἐλικτὸν ἀντήρης.

Me thinkes it might be rendred *arca*, and more properly so then *Moses* מִצְרָא can be: for first he saies there was σκυτὶς ἐλικτὸν skinne or leather, roll'd or folded up, such as some of our Chests have. 2. It was fasten'd or lock'd of one side: ἀντήρης ab ἀντὶ and μήγυος, as our trunks are. 3. It was round also, and fit to be tumbled as he saies,

κακτίδουσι ὡς θανέμενον

Κόλλης

Κοίλῃς ἐν ἀντίπῳ οὐκ ἔχοντι κύκλῳ.

And for ἀγγυ, that will serve well enough for any such thing, as well as *vas*, or a *vessel*. If the child were exposed on the Water, it was usually put in a thing made like a basket, made of ozers, or bulrushes, dawb'd & clos'd with slime and pitch such as that we read of in \* *Exodus*. But though they thus set him out to the mercy of fortune, they would be sure to set him forth too, in the best manner they could, with rings and jewells, and garlands, and many precious ornaments, either in a way of mourning, to doe as they did to the dead, according to that

— αὐτὸν ἔχοντα παρδένον χλιδῶς

Τέκνον περὶ τὰς ἑλπίδας, ὡς θανέμενον.

a *Enrip. Ion.*  
v. 26.

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to find it so lying, and would \* *take it up* (as they call it) he might have his *προνοία*, or *προμήθεια*, his charges to breed him advanc'd to his hand: and if it dyed, there might be enough for him, that would bestow the paines, to bestow the cost too in the burying, according to that in \* *Terence*.

\* *Heautont.*  
*Act. 3. Sc. 1.*

— cum exponendam do illi, digito annulum

Detraho, & eum ut unā cum puellā exponeret

Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.

These *πυγνία*, or *crepundia*, most commonly were fastned about their necks, and were therefore called *πειδέματα*, as they were likewise called *γυνεῖματα*; for they were many times, bottles and bells; and such like toys (and so you must distinguish betwixt ornaments & marks) because they were for another end yet besides the former, viz. ἵνα μὴ ἀγνωστῶν (saies \* one) not to adorne him, but to mark him so as to know him againe, and to set the parents name therein, as we use to fasten collars and such like things, about the necks of our dogs: and it may be the rattle-bells were fastned to find him by the noise, as we doe our Hawkes. For you must know, every child that was exposed, was not exposed with this in-

\* *Dio Chrysost.*



tent to be killed ( as some would have *exponere* and *necare* to  
 be little different ) for many times they did it to hide it only,  
 out of feare it would be killed, if it were not exposed ( as it  
 was with *Moses* ) and sometimes ( if it were a Bastard ) they  
 put it out of purpose to have some body nurse it, for if she  
 bred it up her selfe, every body would know it. Besides, when  
 they were exposed with that intent, the parents for the most  
 part had not their ends, for none have proved more famous  
 men then such as were exposed, as might be made appeare by  
 fundry examples. At the best, exposing in my mind was  
 very hard dealing, and therefore the *Thebans* ( whom *Alian*  
 commends for their humanity ) made a Law to forbid it :  
 and so did the Romans too afterward : among whom no  
 exposed child could be free of the city. And yet *Aristotle*  
 could afford to prescribe it, ἔστω νόμος ὁ ὑπὲρ πάντων αἰσίων.  
 But he was then in *Politicks*, and that made him forget his  
*Physicks*, i. e. his naturall affection. Our putting out children  
 to Nurse, many times proves little better then exposing.  
 Another way there was of carrying a child into another  
 Country, where it might live in secret, and secure from an e-  
 nemy, as *Orestes* did in *Phocis*, from the rage of *Ægystus*. And  
 therefore *Sophocles* speaking of his manner of life in his youth  
 calls it ἀποπαιδισμός, & so you might have called him ἀποπαι-  
 δισμῶν, in the words of *Lycophron*: but enough of exposing.  
 I will proceed to speak of the customes they used in educati-  
 on only, because their practice was different according to the  
 birth of the child, it will be necessary to speak a word first of  
 the severall sorts of children, in regard of their Birth or Pa-  
 rentage.

## CAP. IX.

*De Liberorum diversitate.*

According to the Scholiast upon *Homer*, there were four sorts of Sonnes. 1. ὁ γνήσιος, or ἰθαγενὴς, in Latine *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀσπίης καὶ γαμήσιος, the sonne of a married free Woman. 2. ὁ νόθος, qui Latine *reddi non potest*, saies \* *Quintilian*, the sonne either of a forreigne Woman, or a Concubine; such a sonne, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to doe with the name, or the kindred of his Father, διὰ τὸ πρὸ νόθου μὴ εἶναι ἀγαθῶν saies *Aristophanes*: \* and if the case were thus when the Mother was a stranger, how just a cause had *Ien* in the Poët, to complaine as he did? L. 3. c. 6.   
 \* In Avib.   
 Eurip. v. 591.

Πατὴρ δὲ τ' ἰθαγενὴς, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν νόθαγενὴς

Μηδὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ ὢν καλὰ ἵστανται.

But if the father were a Prince, or some great Potentate (if we may believe *Enstathius* upon *Homer* concerning *Teucer* who was a *nothus* himselfe) being well borne he must needs be lawfully borne, and so he was held in as great esteeme as any other, and enjoy'd his inheritance: *consuetudinis Regia fuit ut legitimam Uxorem non habentes aliquam licet captivam tamen pro legitimâ haberent. ut liberi ex ipsâ nati succederent*, saies *Servius*. Whereas the other must be pop'd along with a portion only of a thousand *drachma* at the most: \* this portion they called τὰ νόθεῖα, which they had in the nature of gifts, like מתנות which *Abraham* gave to the sonnes of his concubines: it was the value of πέντε μνῶν of five *mine* saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in *Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* (*Jupiters* bastard by *Alcman* the Wife of *Amphytrion*) when *Pistheteros* had told him, that being νόθος, by the Law he could not lay claime to the least part of his fathers estate, makes answer thus; Harpoc.   
 a Gen. 25. c. 6.

Τίς' ὡς πατὴρ δίδω τὰ χεῖματα

Τὰ ποσειδ;

But what if he give me a portion, I hope there is no law against that. But the other reply'd againe, and confuted his answer, by urging Solons Law, which ordered indeed that the *nothi* should *αυτῶν τ' ἑκατάστ' ἔχειν*, have the estate shared among them in portions, but it must be only for default of legitimate children and not otherwise. This Law is mentioned by Demosthenes in his speech *πρὸς Μαχάρταν*. Thirdly, Ὁ Σειδῶ an obscure sonne, whose Father we know not: in Latine *Spiritus* or *Favonius*. As if he were nothing but *terra filius*, rising out of the ground like the wind; or as if he were begotten of the wind, (which we know not from what part of the earth it comes) without the help of a Father; like the egges which they call *συνέμια*, made by the hens without the help of the cock. In allusion to which Lucian calls Vulcan *συνέμιον παῖδα*, because they fained him to be borne of *Ἥμε*, but begot of the Winde, or they knew not whom. 4ly. Ὁ περιθέρϊας, ὃν τις ἐκ τῆ δουλείας ἐκ πατρὸς νόμῳ σωσιχέους ἐποίησαν, saies Pollux; A Sonne borne in Wedlock, of a woman with child when she married, who the Husband took for a Maid. To these may be added, first ὁ εἰσποιητὴς or ὁ δευτὸς, a sonne not begotten, but made, or adopted: of whom (it may be) I shall speak more anon. Secondly, Ἐλευθερῶ *liber*, whose father was ἀπαλδ'δευτῶ *libertus*, made free. and thirdly ἐξελδ'δευτῶ *ingenuus*, the sonne of ἀλεύθερῶ. Any sonne begotten by a Father in his old age, or the only child, or the only beloved, they usually called \* *πλήμιοι*.

\* 1. Pol.



C A P: X.

De Liberorum educatione.

**I**T is said of Greece, that it took the best course in breeding up of Children, of any Country in the world. In so much that *Euripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithete of *Κρεττέροθ*, by way of excellency above the rest. But how is it then that *Homer* gives the same to *Ithaca*: as *Cicero* does that of a *Nidulus*? In *Aristophanes* his *Thesmophoriazusa*, the *Præco*, calling upon the Women, to provide to sacrifice to such and such Gods, among the rest brings in

Καὶ τῇ Κρεττέροθ τῇ γῇ.

But whether this γῇ here be *Tellus* in generall, the Mother and the Nurse of the Creatures; or whether it be only *Tellus Attica*, *Athens* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the best Nurse of the best, I know not, but thus much is deliver'd by *Suidas*, viz. that *Eriethonius* the poor expos'd child of *Vulcan*, in a thankfull acknowledgment of his education in that land, first sacrificed to this τῇ Κρεττέροθ, and having built an Altar of purpose to her, made a Law that whosoever would sacrifice to any other God, should ταύτῃ προδύειν, doe it to her first. Well let us see a little what their manner of education was. They say the Children were usually taught πρῶτον κλυμβᾶν, δεύτερον ἢ χαίματα, first to swimme and dive, and then to read; Very good method. If the Father was poor, he was brought up to a trade; if able and rich, to Philosophy, Musick, Gymnicall exercises, hunting, and the like. If he were brought up to no calling at all, in case his Father should come to poverty, he was not bound to maintaine \* him, as otherwise he was. Many times the boyes were taken up, and maintain'd by the greater sort in a lustfull manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were called their ἀκόλυθοι *Pages*: all such *Catamites* or *Ganymedes* were usually called \* πῶλοι, though I \* *Hesych.* know

\* *Plut. in Solon.*

\* *Hesych.*

know, πῶλθ and αὐμὸς too, are frequently used by *Sophocles* and others, in no ill meaning at all.

## C A P. XI.

*De Puerorum Castigatione &c.*

**I**F a boy at any time were refractory, and stubborne in committing a fault, the best means the Mother could use to perswade him to leave it, was to shew him her breasts, ὥπερ κρητίσαις ἐκ μελέαις, saies the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as the most powerfull motive she had. But the Fathers and the Masters took another course with him. If a boy had deserved to be whipt, he should be sure enough of his wages from them, for they tyed him fast πρὸ ξύλου, to a block, to make him kisse the post; or πρὸ πασσάλου, to a stake or a pinne, and so whipt him. And thus to be punished they called it διαπαρήλαδιδαι. διεπαρήλαδισεν χαυαί, saies he in <sup>a</sup> *Aristophanes*, which is rendred by *Frischlin*, *Dilatus affigere humi*, as if they stretcht him out every way as much as they could, and tyed his neck, & armes, & leggs to pins fastned in the ground for that purpose, to keep him from striving. I know not whether this were the same as they called <sup>b</sup> πριμανίζεσθαι, or πριμανίζεσθαι. But I think that to have been rather the stretching or pulling of the skinne, only *fidiculus* with little cords, to make it as tight as that in a drumme. Of which perhaps the Poët speaks when he saies, Ἡ βύρτα οὐ θρανέυσσται, from the θρανόν, or the stoole, whereon they stretcht him or beat him, as they would a skinne or a hide. That torture of one of the seven brethren in the <sup>c</sup> *Macchabes*, pulling his skinne off his head, may be very well reduced hither. And indeed I doe rather think the true *apotympanismum*, to have been a torture or a rack exercised upon any by Tyrants, rather then a punishment of boyes and children by their Masters. For so *Aristotle* in the second book of his <sup>d</sup> *Rhetoricks*, saies that *Antiphon*

<sup>a</sup> In *Equit.*

<sup>b</sup> Ep. ad Hebr.  
c. 1. v. 35.

<sup>c</sup> L. 2. c. 7. v. 7.

<sup>d</sup> L. 2. c. 8. l. 38.

riphæ the Poët, was used by *Dionysius* the Tyrant. And in the sixth \* Chapter of the same book, speaking of the want of all seare, in such as had already suffered the extremity of ev \* T. 24. vills, he instances in those that are thus used; ἀσπερ οἱ σπομ-  
πανίζουνοι. And so *Plutarch* in his book *de Adulatione*, cries out upon those flatterers of *Ptolomie*, that even συμπανίζοντες, when he was thus racking and torturing of men, durst not open their mouthes to dissuade him. But yet I believe also, that there was an easier kind of συμπανισμός, when they would but beat a fellow with clubbs, which they called πύμπανα (if that be not rather the word for the block upon which they suffered, for the Scholiasts on these words of *Aristophanes* in *Pluto* ὃ πύμπανα καὶ κύδωνες— saies both ἐπ' ὅκ, or which and δίκ, with which they beat him.) And that boyes were punished with such a thing, I have cause to think, from these words of *Plutarch* ἀποτυμπανιῖ τὸ παιδίον &c. But to return to the punishment with the *Passalus*, I know the word παῖαλον in that Poët, is more often used to expresse another manner of handling a man, by any body else as well as a Master. For instance, in *Theſmophoriazusa*, when one kept a great deale of noise, and would not be silent, another threatens him to put a πάπαλον in his mouth.

—ἐμβαλῶ σι

Πάπαλον ὡς ὑπὸ σιωπῆς.

Where the Scholiast saies he alluded to the trick (used with us also) of thrusting a stick in a Hoggs mouth, when they would see whether it had τὰς χαλάζας; the *Hail*, or the Meazles or no: nay in the Poët himselfe in *Equites*, you have one threatning to use another in this very manner. That fashion of tying the boyes to a stake to whip them, I remember mention'd by *Themistius*, under the name of προαπατάλευσις, in his first Oration, where speaking of a *Plagiosus Orbilius*; that used to pay the poore and Fatherlesse children to the purpose, because they could pay him no better; saies he, παιδεία δὲ τῇ προαπατάλευσι, &c. And so *Promethens*, whom



the Gods tyed to *Caucasus-hill* for stealing fire, is said by *Menandar*, to have been *προσπαηαλδμένον*, or ty'd like a boy to the Rocks;

\* *Εἰτ' ἔτι Διγίας προσπαηαλδμένον*

*Γεγονῆσι ἢ Προυδέα πρὸς τὴν πέτραν.*

Where he prettily pleads his cause, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for so small a matter. Nay the power of a Father over a child went farther yet: For first, (before that *Solon* made a Law not to doe it, unlesse it were found in the act of adultery) any one might sell his child when he<sup>a</sup> pleased. 2. The Father, if the Sonne had been faulty; might *σπουχεύειν* ἢ ἔρπον, <sup>b</sup> *abdicere filium suum*, turne him out of doores. But not till the Judges had the hearing of the cause, <sup>c</sup> *πρὸς Βοίωτον* saies \* *Demosthenes*: and then the *Κήρυξ*, or the Cryer went about, and cryed that ὁ δῖνα, such a one did deny τὸν δῖνα, such a one to be his Sonne any longer. He that was thus used, was said ἐκπίπτειν τῷ γένει, to be rejected out of the Family, and was called *σπουχευμένος*. If he were received into favour againe, he was said ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ γένος, to be taken into the family againe: and then he could never be abdicated any more.

<sup>a</sup> *Plut. in Sol.*

<sup>b</sup> *Lucian.*

<sup>c</sup> *πρὸς Βοίωτον*

## C A P. XII.

### *De ascriptione in Φεγγαίαι.*

**T**HE Sonnes when they came to be three yeares old at the soonest, and seven at the latest, were carried by their Fathers to the *Φεγγαίαι*, and registred in the Tribe. But before they could be registred, the Fathers were to take their Oathes that the children were theirs: and yet notwithstanding the Oathes, those heads of the Tribe if they listed, might question the matter; and put them to a suit in \* Law. The time on which this was usually done, was the third day of the Feast Ἰατρῆαι. Which was so called, either according

\* *Demost.*

*πρὸς Μαγιστ.*

ding to the Etymologicall dictionary, because the sons which before might be thought ἀπατορες ἔν, to have *no Father*, did now make it appeare, who the Father was, Or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, because at that feast, οἱ τε πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς ζύνεσι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, the fathers met altogether: & so it must be call'd Ἀπατεία, in that manner as a wife is call'd, ἀλοχίη, for ὁμόλεκτος; or ἀκοίης, for ὁμοιωτίς: where A is ἐπιτατικόν, & not a privative, as likewise in ἀτενής, and many other such words. The third day of the feast was called by the name of Κερεῖτις, ἐπὶ τῇ κερεῖ, as who would say a *Shearing-feast*: because at that time they used to *cut their haire*. The haire which they cut, they called αἰλλόν, or σκολλόν, or θρεπτήριον πλόκαμον, in opposition to πένθητιον, that which they cut at a funerall. This *lock* (as I think it was) they had nourished of purpose till that time, and consecrated to the honour of one of their Gods: as may appeare by the practice of *Bacchus* himselfe: for when *Pentheus* threatned to cut off his dainty lock, he had nothing else to dissuade him, but to tell him it was sacred, (like the lock of the \* *Nazarites*)

L. I. ΕΛΛΗΝ;

\* Numb. c. 6.

v. 5.

a Eurip. in

Bacch. 494.

a ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος τοῦ θεῷ αὐτὸν κείσθαι.

And thus *Theſeus* is said to have consecrated his haire to *Apollo* at *Delos*. The haire thus cut, because it was the first time that ever they cut it, and because it was done by way of an offering, they called κόμης ἀπαρχαί, the *first fruits* of the haire, (for the word both English, Greeke, and Hebrew, is applicable to any thing that is first.) Such first fruits of his Beard <sup>b</sup> *Nero* put it into a Golden boxe, which he adorned with precious jewells, and laid it up in the Capitol.

b Sueton. c. 12.

eius vitæ.

If the children were of a noble blood, they would goe as farre as *Delphos* to give it to *Apollo*. But if others, some to one God, and some to another (I think they had their choyce, for there were Gods enough of conscience) at Rome, beside *Apollo*, whom still one or other was carefull to supply (notwithstanding his own *In tonsuræ caput*, and his long hairy beames)

Hos tibi, Phœbe, vovet totos à vertice crines.

Martial

Ff 2

Æsculapius

*Æsculapius* was remembred too. For *Statius* speaks of one *Earinus*, that sent his haire to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious box beset with jewels, and a looking glasse besides,

Mar. Ep. 9.

—dulcisque capillos,

*Pergameo posuit dona sacrata Deo.*

How was it then that the Vestall Virgins hung up theirs-upon a *Tree*: which *Festus* saies they kept for the purpose, by the name of *Capillaris*? The Nuns the Vestall Virgins of these times have no such need, they have Gods and Saints enough, and to one of them they bestow a *love-lock* for entrance, as I have heard it reported. But let me not runne on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is asserted by some, contrary to what I have delivered. *Car. Sigonius* and divers others say, that this registering in the Tribe-book, and that which they called the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fiftene yeares old, and the enrolling of them into the Ἀνέλεγχον γαμουμένων at eighteen: according to that of *Pausanias* in *Eliacis*, where he saies, that after they were eighteen yeares old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boyes any longer. But as yet, I dare be so bold as to be of a contrary mind. For first, *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, saies that when they went to be registred, they were τρεῖς ἢ τετταρῆς, three or foure yeares old, and there is my authority. 2ly. *Cnemon* in *Heliodorus* saith, he was registred as soon as he went to Schoole, which is like to have been sooner then at fifteen yeares old: and there is my example. 3ly. It is agreed upon by all, that at the time of Registering they offered up the *first-fruits* of their haire: and it is not likely they should let it alone till fifteen yeares of age, and there is my reason. But, *Si quid novisti rectius* &c. It is all one to me,



CAP. XIII.

*De ascriptione in Ephæbicum censum, & in album Lexiarchicū.*

**W**Hen they came to be eighteen yeares old, *ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἐτὶ ἐφ' ἡμέραις*, they were listed among the number of those that were *ἐφηβοὶ puberes*. And to this purpose they had certaine Officers appointed to search them to see whether they were so or no, and to prove them whether they were able (as they called it) *φειπολεῖν τὰ φει πόλιν*, to keep Guard, or doe service in the City. (of which hereafter.) This search or examination was called *δοκιμασία*. If they were found to be *puberes*, found wind and Limb; and like to prove Souldiers; they were led into the Temple of *Argulus*, where they took a solemne oath *conceptis verbis*, to be true to the Gods and the Country. The time when this was done, was upon *Κυρῶτις* too, and that may be the occasion of the difference I lately spake of. Neither were these later rites performed without cutting of haire too. But commonly the fashion was, either then, or at any other time but the first, to consecrate their haire, not to this or that God, but to the rivers, especially such as belonged to the Country they lived in *τῶν ἐν γαίῃ ποταμῶν*. Thus much may be gathered from <sup>b</sup> *Peleus* his vow to consecrate his haire to the River *Sperchius*, if <sup>c</sup> *Achilles* returned in safety: and <sup>e</sup> *Memnon's* performance of the like to the river of *Nilus*: so (as <sup>\*</sup> *Paul* shaved his haire at <sup>a</sup> *Cenchrea*, upon the like occasion,) The *Nazarites*, when they cut their haire of <sup>\*</sup> *consecration*, were to make use of the contrary Element, and to throw it in the fire. But amongst the Greeks the custome of paying tribute for their haire, when they cut it, to the *Water* (as to a principall cause of life and growth) was very usuall both in men and women, especially in times of mourning, when they cut it most. I remember *Hecuba* in *Enripides*, where she hemoans the condition of the

Schol. in  
Hom. Il. 4.  
<sup>b</sup> Pausan. in  
Att.  
<sup>c</sup> Philostr.  
Acts. 13. 18.  
<sup>\*</sup> Num. c. 3.

poore *Trojans*, and the sad fruits of the Warre, speaks of such a thing done by the Virgins at the river *Scamandar*.

a *Emip. Helen.*  
v. 372.

ἂν Ἀπὸ τῶν παρθένοι κόμης

ἔθεντο σύγχοι νεκρῶν

Σκαμάνδριον αἶμα ἐφύγιον δίδμα.

Unlesse you had rather think it was done (according to the custome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I should have told you that before they cut their haire, (I meane when they went out *Ephēbi*) they first took a vessell of Wine (μέσον οἶνον, saies *Hesychius*) and having consecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*, they began a health in it to the company there present. This ceremony, they called τὰ δινισήσια from the Wine. And here it may not be amisse, to mention the distinction, which you shall find in the Poëts of two severall waies of cutting of their haire, in use among the Greeks. The one was κῆρυξ, when they did but pare their haire, as they would doe the borders in a garden: the other called σκαρόν, when they shaved it so close to the skinne, that they made the head look like a σκάφη, a *Skiffe*, or a boat. When they came to be two yeares *puberes*, ὅπως ἐτὶς ἡβῶντες, (as *Demosthenes* calls it) or twenty yeares old; εἰς ἀνδρᾶς εἰσερχόμενοι they wrote men, or they became *sui juris*, and their names were regitred by the *Demarchus* in his *Ἀνξιαρχικὸν λεύκωμα*, in *Albo Lexiarchico*, a book wherein he kept the names of all those that belonged to his *Dmeus*. It had this name παρὰ τὴν Ἀξίαν, (or τὴν κλήραν) ἀχρὶν, because as soone as any ones name was written therein, he might be master of an estate himselfe if he had it. Besides this book, there was πνικτιὸν στυγιὸν a table of box-wood, wherein every one was to set down of what *Demus* he was, together with the name of his Father. Now as for the women, they were not wont to be entred into any tribe, till the time when they came to be Married, & that in the month of *Gamelion*, whereas the men were entred in the Month of *Pyaneption*.

CAP.

## CAP. XIV.

*Alimenta parentibus & alumnis prabenda.*

**V**Hen the Father came to age, or necessity, if the Son refused to support him (unlesse he were a *nothus*, or had not been bred up to a calling) he might be served with a Writt ἡ κακώσεως τῶν γονέων; and if he were convicted, his punishment was to be excommunicated all Society, both Sacred and civill; and to be fined a mulct besides. This maintenance and succour, he was bound by a Law of *Solus* making, to afford not only to his Parents, put to any friend else, to whom he owed his education: and thence it was called τὰ θρεπτικά, and θρεπτικίον, or τροφία, in Latine *Alimenta*. This debt they reckon'd themselves so strongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprecated, and grieved for nothing so much, as to die before it was paid, according to that in the Poet, *Iliad* δ.

—εἰ δὲ τικῶσι

Θρέψαντοίλοισ' ἀπὸ δόκα κυνὶ δαδὶ θ' εἰ δὲ αἰῶν

Ἔπλεθ' — rendered by Val. a Flaccus thus.

a L. 6.

—nec reddita charo

*Nutrimenta patri brevibus præreptus in annis.*

Infomuch that the Parent might very well say to his children *Non est beneficiū, quod poscitis; sed fascinus quod negatis.* b Quintil.

And indeed I must needs say thus much for them, I have decl. 6.

found them for the most part, very carefull to keep out of

debt in this kind, and very tender hearted to their Parents,

as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in use a-

mong them, viz. If a Father had been any time abroad, when a In Aristoph.

he came home againe, the Daughters themselves, presently Vesp.

fell to washing his feet, and anointed them with oyle, ἔπος

ἡ πρέβαν τὸ πατρός κ' ἡ γένους saith the Scholiast, inso-

much that *Euphron* (saith he) thought that *Homer* had used the

Epithete



Epithete *Διπαρδε* for the feet, in allusion to this anointing, (it may be) they used to kisse them too (as *shee* did the feet of our Saviour) for so saith he of his Daughter in *Aristophanes*.

\* *Eurip. Med.*  
v. 133.

— καὶ πρῶτα ῥε ἡ θυγάτηρ  
Ἄποινίζῃ, καὶ παῖ πόδι' ἀλείψῃ καὶ πορνύσσῃ φιλήσῃ.  
For the Children thus to maintaine their Parents out of an *Antipelargy*, and to feed the *old ones* like the birds, it was commonly termed in one word *γροβοσκῆν*, and so *Medea* uses the word to her children at parting.

a *Idem in Alc.*  
cest. v. 664.

— εἶχον ἐλπίδας  
Πολλὰς ἐν ὧν γροβοσκῆσεν τ' ἐμεῖ.  
Next to the charges of maintaining the parent when he is *old*, are those of *burying* him, when he is *dead*; and those to be borne by the Sonne too. And therefore *Admetus* running out upon his father, for not offering to lay downe that life in his roome, which being then very old, he must shortly leave in his owne; Well (saies he) *I am to be reckoned but a dead man, & you for your part, are not like to have any more sons now:*

Ἄοι γροβοσκῆσας καὶ θανόντας  
Πεσελεύσι, περ θύσσονται νεκρῶν.  
That will you feed, and shrowd your head,  
And Lay you forth when yon are dead.

And now that we have brought the man so neer to his end: we will shew him what course he is to take for the disposing of his estate, only because if he should have no children at all, or none such as they should be, there might be a doubt what to doe; I will speak a word of that first.

## CAP. XV.

*De adoptione, testamento, & hereditate:*

\* *Isa. de Ari-*  
*starch.*

**I**F a man had either no child at all, or none that was *γνήσθ*, free borne, he had power \* to adopt him a *nothos* or



Ὁὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος ὅστις ἀφ' αὐτῆς γέννηται.

Isæus de Ari-  
starch.

Demost. contr.  
Stephan.

I say this Daughter was the heire, and the next of the kin was to marry her; or the next of kin who was to marry her, became the heire by the marriage. A Woman or a Boy, if they made a Will, could not goe beyond *ἡδύμενον κριθῶν*, six bushells, (they say it is) or the value of such a measure of Barly. He to whom the estate did passe, by what way soever it were, was forthwith to make his claime to it before the Pretor: which thing they called *κληρῶν* & *κληροῖν*, or *ἐπιδικάζουσαι τῷ κληρῷ*. And if any one would *ἐπαγοπεβάλλειν*, lay in any thing to defeat the claime, he was to prosecute his title. And now the man hath made his will, the next care he has is how to be buried when he dies: I shall therefore endeavour to shew him how to have that done too in the amplest manner; only first, I will satisfy him of the necessity of having a buriall.

## CAP. XVI.

### *De necessitate sepulturae.*

I Remember Cicero in his *Topicks*, divides justice into three kinds, *unam ad superos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad homines pertinentem*: of the second kind of justice viz. to the dead, I doe find every where among the ancients so religious a care, and such sacred esteemes of a buriall; that sepulchers were called *templa*, and the rite of a funerall acknowledged and called to be *τὸ νόμιμον* by the Greeks, as well as *justa* by the Latins. In-  
somuch that the Athenians had a Law, that if any one happened but by chance upon the carcase of another, whosoever it were: he should be bound to cast earth upon it three times together, and give it a mouthfull of Turfe,

— a Capiti inhumato

*Particulam dare—*

The Romans (it seems by Quintilian: *Declam. 5.* observed this

Ælian: Var.  
Hist. l. 5. c. 14.  
a Horace l. 1.  
Od. 28.



this custome exceeding well, for (saies he) *Ignotis Cadaveribus humanum congerimus, & insepultum quodlibet corpus nulla festinatio tam rapida transcurrit, ut non quantulocunque veneretur aggeretur.* And if any one omitted the duty, he must make satisfaction by sacrificing a Sow-pig *porcam\* pracidaneam* (as they called it) to *Ceres*. But the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* in *Antigone* goes farther: *οἱ τέκτονες δὲ τῶν ἀποθνῄσκοντων καὶ μὴ ἐναυμοσάμενοι πόρην ἐναγείναι εἶδ' ἰδοῦμεν.* Whosoever saw a dead body, & did not turne up the dust upon it, was not only a breaker of the Law, but *ἐναγὴς*, a *scelus*, an *accursed devoted fellow*, *anathema*, (for what should the body do any longer in the aire, which it is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted τὸ ἀπαρῆμα, *μαμασμένα*, saies the *Scholiast* upon \* *Euripides*, and τὸ ὑπερβαίνειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ ἱλασθῆναι εἶδ', very much feared that the Gods under ground would be angry, if any belonging to the were above ground. No greater imprecation to an enemy amongst them, then *ἐκπύσσειν χθονός*, that he might not be covered with the earth. Mee thinkes I see \* *Hector* upon his knees to *Achilles* as he was ready to stabbe him; and \* *Ajax* in his prayers to *Jupiter* (before he fell upon his sword) earnestly beseeching them not to suffer their bodies, when their soules were removed, to be left behind in the lurch, to be meat for the dogges and the birds. Hence surely it was, that the ancients stood so much in feare of a death upon the sea: or a shipwrack because of death: for there they could never be interred.

\* *Festus* c. 14.\* *In Helen.*\* *Homer.*  
\* *Sophoc.*

*Demite nam fragrum & mors mihi munus erit.*

saies *Ovid.* Infomuch that when they went to Sea, or at least when they feared to be *sast away* (as we call it, for there if the Soule be gone, we have lost the body too) their custome was to fasten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him that should find it, and bury it, if it were cast a shore. *φέρειν δὲ τιμὴν ἐπαίσιον τὸν ἐκ ναυαγίου νεκρὸν; ὃ δ' ὅσοι τυχὼν καὶ κρηδῶν νόμους ἀδραστεῖαι αἰδέσταν, μὴ ἐξέ μιν ὄν τι αἰρῶ ἐπαδύσασθαι τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλοτρίων;* Saies *Synesius* in one

of his Epistles. Moreover not onely if a corps were not buried at all: but if it were not buried as soone as possibly it could, it was counted *μῆνιμα' π τὸ νεκρῷ*, as if they had offended the *manes*; whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it *μείλιγμα' π τὸ νεκρῷ*, that they had done them a pleasure. You have those two words used by the Scholiast, upon the saying of Homer. *Iliad. 7.*

—ἐπεικε θάνωσι πρὸς μείλισιν ὄντα.

As: x. ab Alex.  
l. 3. c. 7.

*Patroclus* is said to have been angry with *Achilles* for such a delay, and how true it is which one saies, that the bodies were kept fourteen daies and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I doe not yet finde.

## CAP. XVII.

*De ter vocandâ animâ, & de Cenotaphiis.*

**B**UT next to the happinesse of being buried, was that of being buried in their own Country. Insomuch that if a Man died so farre from home, that they could not come to the body; they were wont with solemne and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, *ἀναγαλήσασθαι τὴν ψυχῇ*. —*manes ter voce vocare* (as I may say) to give a halloo for the Soule: which they thought was still quick enough to come to them. <sup>a</sup>*Pindar* saies, that *Phrixus*, when he was a dying at *Colchis*, desir'd *Pelias* to see this office perform'd for him

<sup>a</sup> In *Pyth. Od. 4.*

—καλεται τὸ εἶν

Ψυχὴν κοιτῆσαι οὐδ' ἑ

And so *Ulysses*, after he had lost threescore and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, presently made it his businesse (saies Homer)

—τρίς ἑκάστον αὐτοῦ:

to give a hoop for

El. 13. Eclog. 6.

every one three times, As *Theocritus* saies of *Hylas*, *τρίς μὲν ὕλας αὐτοῦ*. In *Virgil* he is named but twice.

—*Hylas nauta quo fonte relictum*

*Clamassent: ut lituus Hyla, Hyla, omne Sonaret:*

Doubt

Doubtlesse they would have been glad, to believe their bodies also might be rolled under ground, into their native Country, as some of the *Jewes* doe think theirs shall into the land of *Canaan*. And yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the Soules themselves, it could be to little purpose. For as I remember, one in *Aristophanes Ranis* saies concerning the dead.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν λέγοντες ἐξενύμειδα.

They are gone so farre (ὄντωνται οἱ νεκροὶ to go is used also for to dye, we say a man is dead, & gone) that you cannot reach them at thrice calling.

But must this be all? can there be no way else to honour the man, unlesse you can finger the carcasse? yes, he shall be kept safe in Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. Such a monument they called Κενοτάφιον: and to bury a man thus in effigie (as I may say) κενόταφειν, as in \* *Euripides*.

\* *Helen. v.*  
1562.

Ὁν τιμᾶσαι πᾶσι ἢ δ' ἄντα κενόταφον.

The Scholiast upon the same Poët in *Hecuba*, gives a full testimony of the custome, saying that, Ἐσθλασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰ εὐλαεῖ τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ εἰς ἄλλη τῇ γῇ ταφῶσι, χῶσται τὸ κενοτάφιον εἰς τὸ ζῶν τὸ μνήμης, though the body were buried in another Country, to keep his memory above ground, they would bury his grave. Nonnus calls this Cenotaphion Κενήτειον, from κενόν a Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Aeneas* made for his Father.

—b *Tumulum Rhateo in littore inanem*

Constitui—

c *Progre for Philomela.*

—& *inane Sepulchrum*

b *Virg. Aen. 6.*  
c *Ovid. l. 6.*  
fab. 8.

Constituit—

The *Pythagoreans* for those qui à Philosophie suâ descivissent, (accounting them as bad as departed out of the life, that had departed from their principles) The *Athenians* for all those that died upon the Sea.

Ὁ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν οὐδ' ἄλλοι κενῶ τὰ τοιαῦτα

ὁ ἀφαι—

saies the Poët concerning *Helena's* husband. Tis worth your labour to read the story, what a pudder the Woman kept about putting a suit of clothes in a



beere, as if his body were there; and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drowne it. If it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which passed betwixt *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the custome.

*Theoc.* Τίς δ' εἰς ἄντων πύβθ', ἢ θάψεις σκιάν;

*Hel.* Ελπίς ὅτι νόμος βέλων ὄντων θάψω.

*Theoc.* Τί δρᾶν, σαρὶ τοῖ πικρόμεθαι τὰ τοῖ δ δὲ.

*Hel.* Κενὸν δάψην ἐν πέπλοις ὑδάσιν.

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an empty beere in pompe, and a buriall, in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillars and Epitaphs in the stateliest manner that might be. For with this provision for his buriall, he in \**Aristophanes* comforted himselfe and his friend: *ὅτι κεραμικός δ' ἔστι νόμος*; what need I say more of this? It was a common thing every where as \**Ovid* saies. *Et sape in tumulis sine cor pore nomina legi.*

\* In Avibus.

a L. 11. fab. 10.

#### C A P. XVIII.

*De mortui mutilatione, & iis qua in homicidiis fieri solebant.*

THE customes used in *Athens* upon the dead body, were different, according to the different waies by which he came to his end, viz. Violent, and Naturall. And first of the customes used in a violent death. If the man had kil'd himselfe (αὐτόχτης) they cut off the hand with which he did it, and buried it in a place apart from the rest of the body. So saies *Cel. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him so. In dying or (falling down) Men and Women, but especially the Women, were exceeding carefull, that they might not discover any thing that was not to be seen, but *Ευριπίδης* saies of *Polyxena*, If another killed a man, he that killed him, if he thought that he had done it justly and in a good cause, though he washed his hands after it (as they would doe after killing any other Creature) yet he used to take

take the sword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun with the blood on it, *αὐτὸν ὅν τὴ δίαίαν προσδύνει*, (saies the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Orestes*) to shew that he fear'd not if heaven were witnesse, & all the World knew of the fact. If he had done it unjustly: instead of shewing the blood, he wip'd it off in the haire of the party slaine: *ὡς περ ἀπὸ παυζάνου* τὸ μῦθος ἐστὶν ὅτι (saies the Scholiast upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) *αὐεριννῆσαι*, to abominate, and wipe away the abomination of the fact. But if it were *ἐμὸν* and *συγγενικὸν* (as he saies) i. e. If the party were one of his owne Tribe or kindred: he could never wipe it so cleane, but some would flick. And therefore fearing it would draw the Furies to revenge it, they provided amulets and spells to keep them off. And what better thing then a part of the body it selfe? for having that in their power as a hostage, to doe what they would with it, the Ghost of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or else would spare the bearer for love of the carriage. And therefore as soon as they had slaine him, they cut off all the extreme or outmost parts of the outmost members: and sewing them, to tying them together, wore them under their arme-pits. The extremities thus used they call'd *ἀκρωτήρια*, and so to use the body *ἀκρωτηριάζειν*, so as they call'd it likewise, if they did but cut the topps of the eares when a man had committed a fault, saies the *Etymologicall Dictionary*: which may more properly be called *λαβᾶδαι*, from *λαβὴ* the lap of the eare. Though that word, and *λυμαίνειν*, be also used for as bad usage as *ἀκρωτηριάζειν*: unlesse you will say this was properly said to be done, when they killed the party quite. Those *ἀκρωτήρια*, are sometimes called *ἀπαργματα* or *ἐξάργματα*, as in *Apollanius*, where he speaks of *Abfyrus* his L. 4. being thus used by his sister *Medea*.

*Ἦρος δ' Αἰσωνίδης ἐξάργματα τέμτε δανόντῳ.*

*Ἢ δέ μιν αὐδίντῳσι δολοκλασίαι ἰλῆαδας.*

And sometimes *μαχαλίσματα* from *μαχαρίζειν*, the same that *ἀκρωτηριάζειν*, because oftentimes they hung those pieces of the body

ἢ μαχαλαῖς to their armeholes of which *Sophocles* speaks thus

Ἵς δὲ δανῶν ἄτιμος ὦσε δούλων

Ἐυαγαλίδην.

But if he had kil'd the man by treachery, he hung those pieces about his neck, and taking some of the bloud, spit three times in his mouth. This fashion of mutilating, or *Laceration* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noses, and the eares, and the hands, and the feet, was in use likewise among the Romans: not only upon men slain, (as *Quintilian* saies, *truncas partibus suis umbras*) but when they did not kill them out-right: according to that in *Virgil* *Æn. 6.*

*Atque hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto  
Deiphobum vidi lacerum crudeliter ora,  
Ora, manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis  
Auribus, & truncas inhonesto vulnere nares.*

C. 1. v. 7.

That practice of *Adonibezeks* which we read of in the book of *Judges*, in cutting the fingers and toes of the Kings, may well be called *acroteriaismus*, as this was.

The usuall punishments to be suffered by him that had kill'd another were these. If he had done it unwillingly he must fly his owne Country, and get into another (as the *Israelites* were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*) Being there, he must betake himselfe (saied the Scholiast) εἰς τινὸς οἰκίαν ἀνδρὸς πλουτοῦ, into some great mans house that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not coming as an ἐκτὸς, or *Petitioner*) and there set him covered by the hearth (a place which they counted holy) ἐξαρσίου δόμου, to expiate the fact, and purge himselfe of the pollution. If the party were one of his own Tribe or kindred, he must tarry out of his Countrey a whole yeare at the least. \* *Enstathius* saies anciently they suffered them somtimes to redeme their liberty with a fine of two Talents of Gold. But afterward, it seems to have been otherwise: Insomuch that a Murtherer was not only forbid χερσὶ βασι νόμεν, or ἰσθμῶν μετεχειν, to participate in their Sacrifices himselfe. But every body else (of his owne Countrey was forbid to receive him into his house. Nay they

Joshua c. 20.

\* On *Homor*

Il. O.

\* Schol. in *Em-*

rip. *Hippol*

a lib. 18.



they might not be allowed to *ſpeak* to him : as thinking him  
*ἀνόσιον καὶ ἐναγὴν*, ſo unholy a thing, as that he might not have  
the name of a Man, as *Enripides* ſaies *ὃ δ' ἀνὴρ αὐτὸν καλῶ*.  
The Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, out of *Callimachus*, ſaies, that \* II. X.  
among the *Theſſali*, they uſed to drag him about the grave,  
where the party was buried whom he had ſlain ; as *Enridamus*  
did *Symon* for killing his brother *Thraſymus*.

CAP. XLIX.

*De claudendis oculis, pulſandis aneis vaſis,*  
*& amiciendo corpore.*

IT was the Cuſtome among the Greeks, as well as among  
the Jews and the Romans, when a man was a dying, or  
his Sun was a ſetting as they uſed to ſay — *ἀλίου ἔμμι δεῦ- Θεος,*  
*κην* to have his eyes cloſed by the Parents, or the next of the  
kindred: and they call'd it *Σύγκλειον τῶ ὀμματος*. The perform-  
ing of this ceremony by the Kindred, was ſo much valued,  
that it was bewail'd as a very great unhappineſſe, to dye in  
ſuch a place where a mans friends could not be preſent to do  
it: as *Ulyſſes* ſaies.

— *ὃ μὲν σοὶ καὶ πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ*

*ὅνε καὶ αἰρήσωντα δαίοντι* —

If a man died ſuddainly; *ἀνέκκτο* (ſaies the \* Scholiaſt upon *Ho- \* II.*  
*mer*) it was attributed to *Apollo*: if a Woman to *Diana*. I know  
not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old  
Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, that juſt at the time of death, they  
had a cuſtome likewise to make a great ringing with *vessels*  
of *Brasse*, (Bells, ſome render it) to fright away the Hob-  
goblins, and Furies from the Soul. For ſuch a kind of  
ſound (he ſaies) is *καὶ δαῖος καὶ ἀπὸ λατρῶν καὶ μισομύμων* of a  
ſpecial virtue for ſuch effects. But elſe I ſhould rather ima-  
gine it to have been done for the ſame end, that a Roman  
Conclamation was, viz. to try whether the party were but

H h

dead

dead asleep (not dead and gone) and so to awake him with the noyse, as they were wont to do to the Moon in an Eclypse, when they thought her asleep. The eyes being cover'd with the lids; the face was next cover'd with a cloth: and that by the next of the Kin too: for *Hippolitus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his father to do it.

*Eur. Hipp. v.*  
148.

Κεῖ-το γὰρ δὲ μα-μεν σείσω-ποι αἶς πέχας πίπλοισι.

And indeed the whole business of stretching out and shrowding the body, belonged especially to the next of the Kin. And therefore *Cassandra* in *Euripides*, endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better than that of the Greeks that besieged them, saies, That *they*, having the happinesse to dye at home among their friends and kindred, were

χρὸν σείσαντες ὃν ἔχλω ἴσοι:

*Shrowded by whom they ought, their Kin.* If a Father or a Mother died a Widow, the Children did it. And so *Medea* tells her Children, she had once hopes it should have been done by them to her self.

*Eur. Med. v.*  
1036.

καὶ κατθανῆσαν χρὸν δὲ σείσαιν.

If the Husband died the Wife did it. Which happinesse the Greek Souldiers could not attain, if they dyed at Troy.

---ὃ δὲ μαρτ' ἐν χερσίν

*Troam. v. 277.*

Πέπλοισι συναπλήσων.

If a brother; the sister. Which made *Orestes* when he was to suffer death among the *Scythians*, a great way off from his home, cry out so pittifully,

ὦ δὲ. πῶς ἀν' ἀδελφῆς χερ' σείσειλ' αὖν.

*Id Iphig. in*  
*Taur.*

A lack! how shall my Sister shrowd me now?

## C A P. XX.

*De offa Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis.*

*a In vita Nuv*  
*ma.*

**T**HE body being dead, beg an from thence to be *Sacrum*, *Sacred*: those that are dead are called *ισοι* by *Plutarch*, and the

the graves themselves ἀγνά ηἶνα by *Lychophon*, as soon as the body was in. Sacred I say, that is not to be injured, far enough from *holy*, insomuch that if a man had but toucht it, *καὶ τὸν ἅγιον* (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any *holy* thing after, till he had washed, as *πύγμα*, as a Jew: Toucht did I say? when *Hippolitus* lay a dying, *Diana* would not so much as stay to see him dead, for fear of pollution.

Καὶ χαῖρ' ἔμοι γὰρ ἑ δέμους φθινὸν ὄρεν,  
Οὐδ' ὅμματα χέειν θανάτῳ μιν οὐκ ἐκπνοαῖς,

The same may be said of the graves *δοθήματα τῶν*, saies *Hesiod*; for ἀγνά they were not, but only in this sense, that they were ἀκίνητα, not to be medled with, as some would have it to be meant by that of the same Poet,

Μηδ', ἐπεὶ ἀκίνητοι καὶ δέονται —

Insomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Quest.* saies, that those men, that out of pride would make their burying place, and provide the funerall pomp, before they dyed, were not fit to bear the name of ἀγροί themselves. The whole performance of the ceremonies used to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (saies the *Scholiast* upon *Æschylus*) *Σύγκομδῆ*, as the elation or carrying forth, was called *ἐκκομδῆ*. The ceremonies were these. First they took a piece of money above a half-penny ('twas dearer there than at Rome) and put it into his mouth to speak his fare to the *πρόδρομος*, or *Ferriman Charon*: the piece of money was called by the name of *δραχμή*, because it was given *πρὸς δαράσιν*: which signifies the dead, from *δρῶς* dry, because of their dry bones. I remember the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite:

*Eur. Hipp. v.*  
1437.

— *πᾶσι δ' Ἀναλυσάμενον* (saies that there was a stone which the Poet saied to be *ἐν ᾧ*, in the place of the dead, call'd by the name of *Ananus* *ὅτι τὸ αἶμα τὸν νεκρὸν ἵδ' ὅτι* because the bodies of the dead must needs be as dry as dust.

Together with the money, they threw in a morsel of pudding



ding or past, or Cheefe, to give to *Cerberus* to stop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. It was usually made of flower temper'd with hony (too good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly *μελιπῆτα*, and *μελιπῆτι μελιτεπῆ* ἐδίδοτο τοῖς κεράσι, ὡς εἰς τὸ Κέρβερον, saies *Suidas*, such a kind of thing *Aeneas* is said to have given him, when he visited the dead.

*Melle saporatam, & medicatis frugibus offam*  
*Objicit,*

*Æn. 6.*  
*Metam. l. 6.*

*Apuleius* speaks of more pieces than one, *offas polenta mulso concretas*: and saies, they were to carry a piece in each hand. The Poet in \* *Lysistrata* us'd it but in the singular number

\* *Aristophan.*

— σὸν ὀήσει  
*Μελιπῆταν ἑγὼ καὶ δὴ μᾶζω.*

It may be the same Poet alluded to this custom in those words of his in *Pace*.

ἔτ' ἀλείψετε τοὺς ὡς πολέμοιο.

## CAP. XXI.

*De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinctura, & amiculo ferali.*

**I**F the party deceased were free of the City, the *κατακλῆστοι* (you may render it *Pollinctores*) took out his bowells, and with heated water, which they put in a *Labrum* kept in a Temple for the purpose, washed the body: as those \* did the body of *Tabitha* before they laid her in the upper room. This

\* *Acts c. 9. v. 57.* *Εὐριπ. v. 157.* *Ἄντρα πάνυ σατα* (as *Electra* call'd it in the Poet) was a thing accounted so necessary, that *Socrates* (as it is in a *Plato*) when he intended to drink his own death in a health, thought it best to set about it himself aforehand, and save the Women a labour: *Ὡρα τραπέδαι πρὸς το λαῦτον, δακτεῖ γδ' ἥδη βέλιον ἀποσάμενοι πειν τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ μὴ ποσάγματα τ' ἑνὶ αἵματι παρέχειν κεῖν λένειν.* Which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alcestis*, when she intended to dye for her Husband. Saies the Poet

\* *Acts c. 9. v. 57.*  
*Eurip. v. 157.*  
*Electra.*  
*in Phædone.*

Poet. b *Ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ δευτέρα ἡμέραν τὴν καλὴν*  
*ἤκεσαν, ὅδατι ποταμίῳις ἀδελφὸν ἰεῖν*  
*ἔλυσαν*

b *Eurip. Alc.*  
 v. 116.

When she perceiv'd the day appointed near,  
 She wash'd her self in river water clear,

In allusion to this custome \* *Iphigenia* in her dream, fell a \* *apud Eurip.*  
 washing one of the pillars of the ruined house, when she fan-  
 cied to see.

*Ἐδρανον αὐτὸν ὡς θανάμενον.*

Interpreting the Pillar for a Son, and concluding the death  
 of that son by the washing of the pillar. To this washing,  
 (it may be) alludes that expression of *Strepfiades* to his son in  
*Aristophanis nubibus.*

*Ὡσπερ τεθνεῶτα καταλείμει τὸν βίον.*

He casteth aspersions upon my life, & washeth me as if I were dead.

This work was indeed proper to the Women, but in case of  
 necessity others might serve. And therefore in c *Galen* you c *De Method.*  
 shall find the *Cynicks* themselves a washing poor *Theagenes*, be. *Medendi. l. 13.*  
 cause he had neither wife nor child, nor chick of his own to do<sup>e</sup>. 15.  
 it. Having washed the body, they annointed it with ointments,  
 and poured *Ambrosia* upon his head and his face, as *Homer* saies,  
*Jupiter* bid them do to *Sarpedon*,

*Χεῖρον τ' ἀμβροσίῳ* —

II. 117

Having done this, they wrap'd the body in a fine garment, wo-  
 ven (it may be) long before by his Wife, or some other friend *Homer. Odys. l. 11.*  
 for the purpose: having also τὰς τηλας, bands or lifts of cloth,  
 to tye the hands and the feet withal, such as \* *Lazarus* had. \* *John. c. 11.*  
*Feralibus amiculis obstrictus*, saies \* *Apuleius*. The colour of the v. 44.  
 shrowd (if my memory fail not) was white among the Greci- *Metam. l. 101*  
 ans, but black with the Latines.

## CAP. XXII.

De ablutione à Mortuis. De coronis, quibus corpora ornabantur  
De lecto, & de collocatione.

HAVING thus cloth'd him with his Winding-sheet, and his πέπλα: next they trim'd him with Garlands, ἐδίδωτο τοῖς νεκροῖς δ' ἐφ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς τὸν βίον ἀνθ' ὧν ἀνέμεινον, saies Suidas, as they would do to one that had run out his race, or fought it out: and with the like signification, I have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for the same reason: for cakes were given for rewards, as well as Garlands. In allusion to these Garlands, Eustathius, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Son, makes him say, πῶς σε κατασεφαιώσω τοῖς δάκρυσιν, how shall I crown thee with my tears? an example of this practise, you may see in Euripides: where Talthybius speaks to Hecuba to do it to Astyanax, in the absence of his Mother, thus.

L. 10. Ilm.

Eur. Troam.

v. 1143.

Artem. l. 1. c.

14.

—πέπλοισιν ὡς περὶ στέφανον νεκρὸν

Σταφάνοις δ' ὅση σοι δύναμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ πόδια.

After they had done this they set him on the ground, with his feet outward toward the gate: as being never to put his foot in the house again. Then they took him and put him into a couch or a bed (τὸ λίκνυν) to be in a readiness to be carried to his bed, for so Lycophron calls the grave θύλασθιον, as it is likewise termed λοιμηθιον, and so the dead are called θύλακται, and κατακειοιμημένοι, for death is a long sleep, as sleep is a short death. The couch was also adorned with Garlands made of all sorts of Herbs and Flowers, (as \* Euripides saies) ὅσα χθὼν καλὰ φέρει βλασθήματα, but especially of Olive, which they used in victories. Having thus adorned it, they placed it, or set it forth at the doors, as Patroclus in Homer was,

—ἀνὰ πόρθυρον τετραμμένον.

This placing of him they called περτίδωξ, collocare, Laying forth (as we call it) as it is in Alceftis.

\* In Hel



— ἢ περὶ τὸν νεκρὸν.

\* Eurip.

During the *πένθει*, and all the time till the *ἐκφορά* (as they call'd it) till the body was carried forth, *efferebatur, ἐξεκομίζετο*, as S. Luke saith, (whether out of the house or the City) there stood at the door, a great earthen vessel filled with water, which they fetcht from another house, for the people to wash in, that came in and out. This vessel is called by *Hesychius* *χάσκα*, by *Pollux* *ἀρδάνον*, and by *Aristophanes* *ὄσκαλον*, in that place where he speaks of the *λέκιδος* too, that is the Pots for oyntments wherewith they annointed the body, as likewise of strewing of *Origanum* (they say it is for good hearts *origanum iheri*) and of Vine-branches, for what use I know not, unlesse it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of annointing, or else to make the Torches of them: for of such stuffe Torches were commonly made: as *Eustathius* saies *ὁ φανὸς* was ἢ ἐκ κληματίδων λάμπας. And so our Poet in *Lysistrato* calls it *ἡ ἀμπύλη φανὸν*: pray take his own words, for the great pot of Water, the lesser pots of oyntment, and the Vine branches together.

+ C. 7. v. 11.

\* In Eccles.

Ἵπομνήσθαι νῦν περὶ τὰ ἡ δειγὰν  
καὶ κλημάδ' ὑπὸ δὲ συγχεῖσθαι τέλει  
κί ταιγίωσαι ἢ περὶ δὲ τὰς λέκιδος  
Ἵδα πὸς τε κατὰ δὲ τὸ ὄσκαλον περὶ τὸ δύρας

Thus I remember in *Euripides* his Tragedy of *Alcestis* (verse 9) one makes a doubt whether the woman were indeed buried, as they said she was, because he could not see any Spring-water *πηγαῖον χέρνιβα* (as he calls it, for such it should be) standing at the door as the custome was.

The washing it self was called *λέεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκροῦ*, like the Israhelites *βαπτίζεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκροῦ*, which we read of in *Ecclesiasticus* p. 34. v. 25, and in *Numbers* c. 19. v. 11. The Romans used *effusionem*, a perfuming of the house: for they thought the whole house polluted, where there lay but a dead body by the wall. And so did the Greeks too, as may appear by those words of *Helena*, and the Poet.

καὶ δαμά

a Eurip. Hel.  
v. 1446.

ἡ καθαρότης τοῦ οἴκου ἐν τῇ θάλασσῃ  
Ψυχῇ ἀφῆκε Μελέαντος —  
Our house is clean, for Menelaus here  
Lost not his life —

## CAP. XXIII.

De ritu effrendi & portandi corporis.

THE best time of burying, they reckon'd to be in the day, and not in the night. And this I gatherd by those words in the Poet, wherein *Cassandra* the Fortune-teller, threatening *Talthybius*, told him his fortune to be buried in the night (clean contrary to the judgment of many now a daies, who make it an honour for the better sort.) saies she

bild. in Troad.  
v. 446.  
ll. 11.

b Κακὸς κακῶς παθήσει νυκτὸς, ἐκ ἐγὼήμερα.  
Therefore the next day after the Collocation, before Sun rising,  
ὡς ἔφρανε ῥοδὸδᾶκτυλῳ ἡώς.

(saies *Homer* in the funeral of *Hector*) at break of day, up the Corps is mounted, and carried along most bravely ὡς περ οἱ πομπῇ κακοσημένῳ (saies \* *Lucian*) in pomp, as if it were intended for a shew. Now it was carried (saies the Scholiast upon *Homer* ἐν ἐπὶ ὕψους πῖος, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν, not in any Litter or Coach, &c. But upon mens shoulders up aloof ἄρδον, as *Euripides* calls it, speaking of *Alcestis*, where he speaks also of ὑπόστολοι Servants, (I should have thought the bearers had been some of the kindred rather) that thus carried the Corps.

a Eurip. Ale.  
v. 607.

ὑπόστολοι  
ἔφερον ἄρδῳ ὑπὸς τᾶρον τε, καὶ περὶν.  
In the like sense he uses the word φορέδῳ in another Tragedy where speaking of *Rhesus* his being trudg'd away to be buried by his mother *Terpsichore*, when *Ulysses* had slain him.

τίς ὑπὸ κεφαλῆς ὁ θεός, ὃ βασιλεῦ  
τὸν νεκρὸν ἐν χερσίν

ἑορτάδω πέμπει —

If the party dyed of a violent death, especially in a fight, they used to carry forth Spears, and other arms and armour along with the Corps, as the *Arcadians* did at the funerall of *Pallas*.

— *Hastam alii, galeamq; ferunt* —

And it is likely they held those Spears at the wrong end too, as the custome is with us at the burial of a Souldier, and as they did then

— & *versis Arcades armis*.

As the Corps was a carrying forth from the Porch, it seems that they used some speech or other, as to the party deceased, either to commend him for his virtues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernal gods, to whom he went, or to bemoane his departure, for it may well be conjectured by the words of *Admetus* to the people of *Phera* concerning his Wife,

<sup>a</sup> ὦ γαῖα καὶ τὸν δαίμονα, ὡς νομίζω,

Προσέειπατ' ἐξέσται ὑστέρῳ ὁδῷ.

<sup>a</sup> *Eurip. Alc.*  
608.

Those that accompanied the corpse, and were invited to the funerall, sometimes went on foot, (if it were one whom they honoured very much) and sometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick person, or one of great note, they were all clad in white, and adorned with Garlands. In going to the grave the manner was for the Men to walk stately before the Corps, and the Women (but not unless they were threescore years of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a πέπλον about her; whatsoever that was.

<sup>b</sup> *Diog. Laert.*  
L. 1. 10.

<sup>c</sup> *Demost. ad.*  
*Massart.*



a Eurip. Hel.  
v. 1446.

καθαρὸν δὲ τὸ οἶκον ἐν δέσποινι

Ψυχὴν ἀφῆκε Μενέλαος

Our house is clean, for Menelaus here

Lost not his life

## NOTE

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b Id. in Troad.  
v. 446.  
ll. 11.

\* De Luffu

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— & *versis Arcades armis*.

As the Corps was a-carrying forth from the Porch, it seems that they used some speech or other, as to the party deceased, either to commend him for his virtues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernal gods, to whom he went, or to bemoane his departure, for it may well be conjectured by the words of *Admetus* to the people of *Phera* concerning his Wife,

<sup>a</sup> ὅττις δὲ τὴν θάψουσιν, ὡς νομίζουσιν,

Προσείπαι ἑξίσταν ὑστὶν τὴν ὁδόν.

<sup>a</sup> Eurip. Ale.  
608.

Those that accompanied the corpse, and were invited to the funerall, sometimes went on foot, (if it were one whom they honoured very much) and sometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick person, or one of great note, they were all clad in white, and adorned with Garlands. In going to the grave the manner was for the Men to walk stately before the Corps, and the Women (but not unlesse they were threescore years of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a *πέπλον* about her; whatsoever that was.

<sup>b</sup> Diog. Laert.  
L. 1. 10.  
<sup>c</sup> Demost. ad.  
Masart.

## CAP. XXIV.

## De Ministerio Funeratum &amp; Siticinum.

**T**O set forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jews<sup>a</sup> had a מִינְחָה, and the Romans *Præficus*: so they also had their singing Women of purpose to lead the dance, αἰδῶες, or δρήνων ἑξάρχες, as <sup>\*</sup>Homer calls them; or πενθετίας as <sup>\*</sup>Nonnus. And since vocal Musick might be allowed, I marvel very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife should be so strict against any Instrumental, either with the Harp or the Pipe.

<sup>a</sup> See Jerom.  
c. 9. v. 17.  
<sup>\*</sup> H. O.  
Eurip. Alc. v.  
430.

Ἀυλῶν δ' μὴ κατ' ἄνδρ', μὴ λυγρὰς κτύπῳ.

<sup>\*</sup> Εἶπω —

Especially considering the virtue supposed to be in it, of all harmony according to that of *Macrobius*, *Mortuos quoq; ad sepulturam prosequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regionum instituta sanxerunt persuasione hac, quia post corpus anima ad originem dulcedinis musica, id est, ad cælum redire credatur.* Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not sing πᾶς λυγρῶν, in such times of mourning, because it was an instrument consecrated to the service of *Apollo*, for *Pæan's*, and such merry songs (as the reason is given upon the Scholiast upon those words of the Poet in his *Phænissæ*, Ἀλυσθ' δὲ μοῦσαν.) But for the Pipe, I never knew but that they might sing πρὸς αὐλῶν, for else why were there *πυμβαῦλοι* *Pipers* among them? as there were *Siticines* among the Romans.

As many as came to the Funeral, brought along with them ἄ κόσμον, one fine thing or other, to carry in their hands, or to put upon the corpse; such as *Admetus* in <sup>a</sup> *Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company besides had given before.

κόσμον δ' τὸν σὸν ἔποθ' ἢ δ' ἐν δ' οὐκ.

I have some cause to think that some of those *κόσμοι* which they carried, were the *Images* and the *Arms* of the family of the party deceased ; for such they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the funerall. And if so, then those *νεκτέρων ἀγάλματα* \* (neer the place above quoted) said to be carried by those which followed the corps, may be translated *imagines*, as well as *grata munera*. Or if it must needs be *grata munera*, it must be meant to the *gods* of the dead, and not the *dead* themselves.

\* *Ib. v. 612.*

But yet after all this, you may do well to take notice, of a great deal of difference in the Pomp, according to the age of the party deceased : for such as had more age had more honour than others. And therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alceſtis*) of a great deal more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger sort, he replied, by no means ; for

*Κἂν γεγεῖς ὀληται, πλεῖστος ταφῆσεται.*

If old she die she will be richly buried.

And here, because I have such an occasion given me, before I go any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to rattle a little more then I thought to have done, concerning the customs used in mourning at Funeralls, or any other time, and first, of the cutting of the hair.

## C A P. XXV.

*De Capillis contendis in Luctu.*

THE Grecians upon any extraordinary occasion of sorrow and *baldnesse* (as the *Hebrews* say) used to cut their hair *ἐν χεῶ* (as they calld it) or to shave it close to the skin. For so much may be gathered by those words of *Lysias* \* (cited by *Aristotle* in his \* *Rhetoricks*) which he had in his speech for the Corinthians that dyed in the fight with the

\* *L. 3. c. 10.*



Persians at Salamis, saies he, ἀξιον ὡς ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τῶν ἡρώων ἐν Σαλαμῖνι πλεονάσωντων κείεσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. *It had been no less then desert, if all Greece had been shaved at the burial of those gallant souldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis.* If this suffice not, you may take the testimony of Euripides, who would have the whole Country of the Cyclopians to do the like.

— ἰαχεῖτο δὲ Κυδαπεία.

Ζίδεον ἐν κρατὰ τιθεῖσα κείμων.

And he himself when he dyed (as *Solinus* reports) was mourned for after this manner, by no worse man then *Archelaus* the King of the *Macedons*. In reference to this custome, *Straba* speaks of a Town in *Cappadocia* called *Comona*, from the mourning-haire, cut in that place by *Orestes* and *Iphigenia*. So you shall meet with the like practise of *Tellus* in the behalf of *Phaëton*: and of *Bacchus* the god (as intonsus as he was) for the losse of his wife. Nay you shall find *Job* himself at this very work upon the news of his Childrens death. And in the Prophecy of *Jeremy* you may read, *Cut off thy hair, and cast it away, and take up a lamentation.* Tis true, they were to be blamed for these follies, and in *Cicero* you shall meet with a saying of *Bion* himself, deriding the use of this custome in *Agamemnon*, *Perinde stultissimum Regem in luctu capillum sibi evellere, quasi calvirio maror levaretur*, as if he aggravated the former losse of his friends, with another of his hair. What if it be objected to all this, (which we confesse to be true too) th t it was a custome to cut the hair in token of joy? For first among the Jews, if you look into the Bible, you shall find *Joseph* cutting his hair, when he came out of Prison; and *Jonathans* Son, when he met with *David* for joy doing the like. Nay that action of *Job* it self, is by *Origen* (the *Allegorical Interpreter*) thought to have been an expresseion not of sorrow, but of a kind of joy, or a cheerful patience under his affliction. 2ly, Among the Romans, you know their *squallid Prisoners* let their hair hang down long, that they might look the more dejected, and so move the Judges to pity.

a c. 7. v. 29.

b Test. Q. 1. 3.

pitty when they came to be tryed.

a *Aspice demissos lugentis more capillos.*

Whereas after their absolution or releasement, they presently cut it. And therefore *Pliny* in one of his Epistles interprets his dream of the cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from some eminent danger. And last of all for your Greeks themselves, that they let their hair grow long in times of sadness, may appear by that of *Lycophron*.

Κατὰ δ' ἄκρας γὰρ καλλυτεὶ φόβῳ

Μήμινυ παλαίων τιμῆς ὑδρμάτων.

And that they cut it in times of joy, will be out of question, if we believe *Artemidorus*, who saies that ἔτι γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς κατέχειν καὶ τὸ χαῖναι, the word for rejoicing comes from the word which they use for cutting the hair. To reconcile these things, perhaps it may suffice to say, That cutting their hair shorter by way of a κῆπος, or a trimming (as we call it) was a token of joy; but shaving it close, even to baldnesse, of sorrow and dejection, as among the Jews, weeping, and mourning, and baldnesse were joyned together. I know there are some, that think to reconcile all, by saying as *Plutarch* saies (in *Romais*) παρ' ἑλλήνων ὅταν δυσχερὲς γένηται, κτερονται ἢ αἱ γυναῖκες, κομῶσι ὃ δὲ ἄνδρες, that the women expressed their sorrow by cutting their hair, and the men by letting it grow. Which may be likely enough, because in sorrow, people out of a dejected carelesnesse, love to appear as unhandsome as may be, and contrary to the usuall fashion: now it was accounted a handsome thing, (and so it was the custome too) among the Greeks, for Women to wear their hair long, and the men to wear it short. But how is it then that in *Terence* there is mention made of a Woman in mourning with long hair?

*Capillus passus, prolixus, circum caput*

*Reiectus negligenter.*

a *Ovid. In Epist.*

*Isai. c. 22. v. 12.*

b *In Heaut. Act. 2. 51. 3.*

## CAP. XXVI.

De ritu Lugendi in funere.

**W**Hen any disaster befell such as were neer of kin unto them, *ούδαιμιπν*, &c. it being a time for sadness, they forbore to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men *glad*) and confined themselves to that which the Scholiast calls *ἀλφίτων κυκῶνα*, a *Barly-mash*, (Ale, its like.) But sorrow must be more than negative: and therefore, First, they used to tear their cloths and their hair, after the manner of the Hebrews, and sometimes to fling their Vails in the fire, (not in healths, but in sobs and sighs) as it is in *Rhesus*.

Eurip.

Κὶ συμπτρῶσαι μυελὸν πέπων χλιδῶ,

Ovid. Met. 1.8.  
fab. 9.

2 To throw their faces in the dust, or the dust in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

*Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusq; seniles  
Fadat humi fusos* —

Or sometimes ashes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourned for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sons at the Leaguer of *Thebes*.

Eurip. Suppl.  
v. 826.

— ἀμφὶ δ' ἀποδόν

Κάρα κεχήμεθα: —

Smyrnaus. β.

3 *Κόπτειν* (which is used for *πίνθειν*) to beat their breasts and their thighs, and cut and tear their flesh like a Jew: as one saies

\* In Hel.

\* ἀμύσσουσι χεῖρα καλόν.

Making streaks and furrows with their nails in their face (as *Euripides* uses the word *ἀνλακίζειν*).

— ὄνυξιν ἡλοκίσμαθ'

b In Avib.

4 To drain, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection *ἔ, ἔ, ἔ, ἔ*, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiast upon b *Aristophanes*) comes the word *ἔλεγε* to be used



used for a song of lamentation viz. ἀπὸ τοῦ λείγου ἔ.

But at a Funeral, so immoderate were they (especially the Women) in these and the like expressions of Sorrow, that Solon was fain to make this Law of purpose to restrain them, *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve lessum funeris ergo habento*, Let no Women, &c. Their customs they used at such times were these. First, when they came forth of the house (and not only at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his hair, and it is noted by the *a Tragedian* for a very ordinary practise, where he shews how it could hardly be believed, that *Alcestis* was indeed buried, as they said she was, because neither the pot of Holy-water, nor so much as a lock of hair could be seen at the door, as they were wont to be.

Καὶ ταῦτ' ἔτις ἐπὶ πρὸς θυρὰς πομαῖ--

-ος, ἃ δὴ νεκρῶν πένθεισι πτνεί.

2 As they went along with the corps they kept their head close covered, and their faces, as other people do. And therefore *Orestes*, when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, saies he

— ἀνακάλυπ' ὃ κασίγνητον χέρας

Ἐκ θακρύων τ' ἀπαλθ' —

Be uncoverd, &c.

In like manner *Thesus* (as it is in another *b Tragedy* of the same Poet) when *Adrastus* came to petition his help κατήρης χλανιδίῳ, all be nussed and covered in the habit of a Mourner, said to him

λέγ' ἐκκαλύψαι καὶ ἄτα καὶ πᾶρει γόον·

They used likewise to lay their hands on their heads (as we do our heads upon our hands.) So *c Helen* saies of the Trojans

Ἐπὶ δ' κατὰ χέρας ἔθηκαν.

3 Their manner of going, was to tread as softly as they could with their feet, and make no noyse with their tongues (I mean the rest of the company, and not those which they got for the purpose to weep)

Σίγα, Σίγα λεπτὸν ἰχνίον ἀρβύλης

Τιδεῖτε, μὴ κλυπῆτε, μεδ' ἔσω κύπτον.

Saies

Cicero De Legib.

a Eurip. Alc. v. 100.

See Esther, c. 6 v. 12. and Jerem. c. 14. v. 3.

b In Suppl. v. 10.

c Id. Hel. v. 376.

al. i. c. 21. v. 27 Saies the *Chorus*. In the book of a Kings tis said that *Ahab* lay  
b. c. 38. v. 15. in Sackcloth וְהָלַךְ בַּשָּׂרָד and went softly, and so b *Isaiah* saies,  
I shall go softly all my years in the bitterness of my soul וְהָלַכְתִּי בְּכָל יְמֵי חַיַּי בְּכָל חֲמָה  
though I know some translations render it otherwise.

4 When they come to the place of burial (for I mean to  
end the Mourning first, and then to come to the rest) they  
would cut off all the best locks of their hair (πρόταμον or βό-  
σρυχον) and lay them on the grave, or cast them into the fire.  
And this they called πινδιμὸν κεφαλῆς and στενοκωκυτὸς τριχὰς (as it  
is in *Aristophanes*) or πυμαῖον βόσρυχον (as in *Æschylus*) or κα-  
τάτομον χλιδῶν (as in *Sophocles*) or ἀπαρχὰς τῆς κόμης (as it is  
every where.) All their best Locks I said; for I remember how  
*Electra* in *Sophocles*, was very angry with *Helen* for dealing πα-  
νέργως deceitfully, and hiding the best of her hair to save it, at  
the burial of *Clytemnestra*, for indeed ἴδεν τοὺς κατ' ἀλήθειαν θρη-  
σκύντας πάντα τὴν πρόταμον τεμνόν, they should cut it all, saith the  
Scholiast upon that Poet: who in another place has given a  
reason or two for the action, viz. First, to make them seem  
squalid, careless, and contemptible; whereas locks ἀβρό-  
τητα καὶ καλλωπισμὸν ἔμπαρχει, are used for ornament, and spruce-  
ness, as being πρυφὴ τῆς κεφαλῆς (as I may say) the *Luxury* of the  
hair. Then, tis known that the Greeks were καρηκομῶντες,  
and used to wear their hair long ἔμμενον εἰς ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ  
φοβεῖν, saies the Scholiast, both to please their friends and to  
fright their enemies. Nay they took such a pride in having it  
so, (calling themselves ἀκαρνεῖναι, and such as cut it too short  
καρητὸς) that κομῶν, signifying to wear hair long, has been used  
to signify to be proud.

c Il. β.

d Il. δ.

e Pausan.

2 ἵνα διὰ τῆς πένθους ἰλίας αὐτοῖς ὁ νεχρὸς ᾗ, to get the good  
will of the deceased party, and the Manes. Some again  
say it was done by none but a Parent, or a Foster-father, or  
Mother, by way of thanks for their education, and so they  
call'd it θεοπήνεια ποιεῖν, ἀνταποδοῦναι τῆς ἀνατροφῆς. But why  
then should e *Hercules* do it to *Sostratus* he who was but his  
Ganimede. Last of all, during the whole time of Mourning for  
the

the dead (which *Lycurgus* confined to the space of eleven daies) the Women were not to wear any \* Jewels, neither was there to be fire or Candle-light (which two at first were but one thing, viz. \* Wood for heat and light too.) *ἀρχαῖοι δὲ πῖρρος ἔστιν*, saith an old Glosse, and to this custome some do refer that in the Satyrist.

*Pullati proceres. &c.*

— *tunc odimus ignem.*

If the mourning were for a publick calamity, all the *palæstra*, and *gymnasia*, must be shut up: together with the Baths and the Shops, and the temples themselves. But it is time to return to the Corps, and see it buried as soon as I can for fear of giving offence (as I told you before.)

\* *Lycophr.*

\* *Vid. Suid. in  
φρυγίδος &  
Hesych. in  
Δαλός,  
Juven. Sat. 3.*

## C A P. XXVII.

*De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco sepultura.*

THE ordinary way by which the corps was carried was the gate called *Ἡεῖλαι*, so called because they led to the *ἦελα*, the Graves, or the Common place of burial. This gate is sometimes called *Ἱεραὶ πύλαι*, a *Sacra Porta* whether in opposition to the *πύλαι πορϋειδῆς* (in *Plutarch*) or the *χαράϊναι πύλιν* (you may render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture phrase, or *Scelerata porta* as the Romans do) by which they dragged the Malefactors; I am yet to seek: for Malefactors were to suffer death without the Gates, as no others were to be buried within. It seems they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature alike unclean, and so took the like care to avoid the contagion of either.

\* *Theoph.*

\* *Αραϊδ.*

\* *1. Pollux.*

The place of buriall in ancient times for a King, or a Prince, was wont to be the foot of a hill, to shew that he might not be a *Mountain* \* forever) according to that in *Lycophron*.

\* *Kings and  
Princes are so  
called in Scrip.  
as Isaiah, 41.  
15. &c.*

K k

*Τεῖναι*



Τεταρτὴς ὃ παρὰ τοὺς Κεραμικοὺς γόποι

Æn. 11.

Or that of *Virgil*.— *fuit ingens Monte sub alto**Regis Derceni terreno ex aggere bustum.*L. ib. de Orig.  
Gent. Rom.

\* *Aurelius* saies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was *Sepultus circa radices Montis cui ex se nomen dedit*, unlesse you will say that those *Montes* were nothing but that in a larger size, which *tumuli* were in the *diminutive*: and so the hills must be made by the buryer, as \* *Lucan* saies

\* L. 8.

*Et Regum cineres extructo monte quiescant.*

But for men of a lower rank, till the daies of King *Cecrops*, it went no higher then a Pit or a Cave, according to that of *Theognis*

— ὅσῳ κούρμασι γαίης

Βοῆς πολυκωκύτης εἰς αἶδαο δάμης.

'Tis true, that in after times there were two common Church-yards (as I may say) appointed for the purpose, called by the name of οἱ Κεραμικοὶ, *Potters fields*, ὃ μὲν ἔσω ὃ δὲ ἔξω τῆ πόλεως, one within the Walls, and the other without. *Aristophanes* in his *Rana*, calls them τὰς ταφὰς, the *Burials* or the *Buries*. That burial place within (otherwise called Δημόσιον σῆμα by *Thucydides*) was for those that made an honourable end in the Field for the good of the *Common-wealth*: the manner whereof I shall mention perhaps in another place. The outer *Ceramicus* was distinguished into several fields, and enclosures. And therefore we shall read that sometimes close to the Gates, sometimes by the way sides, according to that of *Hector* in \* *Euripides*.

\* In Rhes.  
v. 880.

— νεκρὸς

Θάπην κλεῦνεν λαοφόρος πρὸς ἐκτὸς πύας.

CAP. XXVIII.

De Corporis crematione.

NOW for the usage of the bodies : when they came to the place of buriall, saies the Scholiast upon *Homer*, τὸ πῦρ λαὸν πρὸ σώμαλα τεθνησκόντων ἀπόλεον καίετο διὰ τὸ ἀπείρητα γίνεσθαι, εἰδ' ὅπως ἐδάπλετο ὑπὸ γλῶ, the custome was at first to burn them; according to that of *Quintilian. Declam. 10. Animam, quoties exonerata membris mortalibus levi se igni lustraverit petere sedes inter astra.* And the reason was, saies that Scholiast, because by this means the body might presently consume all away to nothing. But that custome (I know not for what reason) was not so well liked by other people. Insomuch that the *Magi* among the \* *Persians*, thought it ἀνόσιον a thing most prophane \* *Diog. Laert. l. 10.* (I fear me more for the Fire then any thing else.) and therefore at length it came to be lesse used, so as sometimes they would burn them, and sometimes only cover them with earth. Which is enough to prove, that there is no necessity that πῦρ a Grave, should come from πῦρ, τῶν καίεσθαι, to burn, as the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* would have it. But for ought I can find even in after times, among the *Greeks*, buriall by burning, was still esteemed the more honourable and stately way of the two : as may appear by their unwillingnesse to have it common, for they denied the use of it, First to Infants. 2 To such as kild themselves. 3 To such as were killed with Lightning or *Fulguritis*, struck with the Planet (as we say) who were to be buried there where they dyed, or at least in some peculiar place apart, as we do those that Hang themselves, or the like. And thus *Capanus*, whom the *Athenians* stoned to death, as he was scaling the walls (a thing invented by him as some report) because they imagined him to have been shot to death by *Jupiter*, must needs be buried χωρὶς seorsum, so *Adrastus* saies in *Euripides*

Ἡ χρεὶς ἐστὶν ὡς νεκρὸν θάψαι θέλεις

And lastly to Traytors: on whom they were loath to bestow any buriall at all. Insomuch that *Themistocles* having been dead long before in *Magnesia*. the Athenians in time of a Pestilence, though they had expresse command from the Oracle, to fetch his bones and bring them to Athens, could by no means be permitted by the Magistrates to do it, in regard he had dealt with *Artaxerxes* to betray their Country. and therefore having obtained fifty daies time to celebrate his Funerall, as the fashion was (as I may say) in his picture, having erected a Tent, closely conveyed thither his bones, and hid them in the ground. The Original of this Law the Scholiast upon *Homer* fetches from *Hector*, who in the time of the siege of Troy, threatned whomsoever he found leaving his place treacherously in the fight, to kill him himself, adding withall

-----ὃ δὲ νῦν τόλμα

Γραπὶτε γὰρ αἶτε πρὸς λελάχων θανόντα.

Upon which words you have this Scholy. Ἐπεὶ οὖν νόμος ἐπεδίδικτο μὴ θάπτεσθαι, ὧς δὲ ἢ νομοθέτης ἔκινησεν. Hence came the Law, &c. But I must tell you after all this, that however *burning* and *burying* are so neer in their sounds they have been far enough distant in their being; at least in some Countries. For at Rome it was not used in *Macrobius* his time. Among the Greeks indeed it may be rather thought to have been discontinued only upon dislike, then not to have been begun when it was not used. For one of them (I know not his name) thinking the fire (which they esteemed pure and holy) to be polluted by the dead body, which it was to purify, is reported by a Scholiast upon *Homer*, to have cryed aloud to *Prometheus* with these words, Ἐπάρηξον, βοήθησον, χλῆσον εἰ δὲ ἔστι ποτιχὲ πάλιν τὸ πῦρ, O, pray carry the fire back again where you had it. The first that ever gave example in this kind, is reported to be *Hercules*. Who desiring of *Licymnius* to send his son *Argins* to help him in the war with *Laomedon* for the



the horses, engaged himself by an oath, to see him home safe to his Father again; but the Son being killed in the War, he took him and burnt him, and carried his bones to his father, *σοφίζμενος αὐτῷ putting a fallacy upon him*, as if he had his son indeed, when there was nothing left but the bare bones. And yet he used him better then *Cymras K. of Cyprus*, did *Menelaus*, who having promised him fifty ships with men, sent him but one true ship, and popped him along with ships and men made of clay for the rest. The story is likely enough, but he that told me said he did not believe it, and \* *Hom.* therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a reason or two of the use of the custome, either because *πάν τὸ νεκρὸν ἔστι καθαρόν*, every dead thing is impure, and so it had need to be purified: and the rather by fire, because it was commonly used to such a purpose, as being *ἀγνισκόν*, able to make that pure and chaste which before was adulterated with *Heterogeneous* abasements and alloys: Whence *Empidides* saies of *Clytemnestra's* body *πυρὶ καθαγίζεσθαι*. Or else to shew, how the divine and purer part of the man is carried in the fire, as in a Coach to be joyned in society with the gods above, *τὸ δὲ θεῖον τὸ ἀνθρώπου ἀναφορὴν ὡς ἐν ἵμῳ τὸ πῦρ* (how neer this goes to expresse the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) *μεταίξαι τοῖς θεοῖς*. Which Princes had no need of, if they could be carried upon *Eagles wings*: as I shall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Lycophron* is said *ἀναλιδύναι*, to be made again by the fire, and so to become *καὶ δὲ Ἀθάνατος*, as he calls it. Thus the naked So- Ib. \* *phistors of India* (*πυρκαυστοί*) used to burn themselves into that \* *Cic. Tusc.* immortality, which they desired of *Alexander*, when he put *Q. L. 5.* them to ask what they would.

## C A P. XXIX.

De ritu Cremandi, five comburendi corporis.

De loculis &amp; reliquiis.

THE manner of burning, was to make a pyle of wood; and having laid the corps on the top, to set it on fire, according to that of *Homer*, where he speaks of *Hector*.

Il. ω.

Ἐν δὲ πυρὶ καὶ αὐτὴ νεκρὸν θέσται ἐν δ' ἔβαλον πῦρ.

\* *Here. Fur.*

v. 241.

a *In Trach.*

b L. 15.

The wood was not alwaies of one sort. But sometimes Oake: as in \* *Euripides*, where you shall read of κορυμνὲς δρυὲς *Oaken billets*, at the funerall of *Hercules* his children. Sometimes Olive, as in a *Sophocles*. And sometimes Pine, as in *Athenens*: unlesse shall I say, that he confined the use of it to the buriall of Virgins. If the party had lost his life in shipwrack, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ship,

Manilius l. 4.

— ut corpus sepeliret naufragus ignis

Et collecta rogam facerent fragmenta carina.

Thus to burn the bodies they called it πυρῶν τὰ σῶματα, and the *Bone-fire* it self πνεῶν.

All the while it was burning, the mourners stood round about the Bonfire, and prayed to the Winds to blow, (for so *Achilles* in *Homer* is said to have done at the burning of *Patroclus*) to make it burn the better. Not to put the carcass (surely) but themselves out of the pain. If there happened to be a very strong wind just at that time, they embraced it as an excellent good omen. Still there was Κήρυξ, a *Bell-man* there ready to keep off any that should offer to meddle with the bones. *Ossa ne legito*, saies the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine. And after that πῶ πρὸς σὺν πῶς ὁσίοις ἐχόνουσιν, \* they swept up the ashes together in a heap. The bones they took and washed them in water brought

\* Il. ↓.

brought in *χύτρες* pots for the purpose, by the *ἐνχυτρίταιαι*, \* *Etyim. Mag.*  
(Women appointed for that work, and for bringing Milk, and  
such other things as they used in the *χού*) and having anointed  
them with ointments, and the fat of a Sow; they wrapped  
them in fine linnen, and put them into a coffin which they cal-  
led *θήκω*, or *πέλον*, or *σορὸν*.

\* *Ὡς δ' ἔσται τῶν ὁμῶν σορὸς ἀμφικαλύπτοι..*

\* *Il. 4,*

The vessel, whatsoever it was, is in *Lychophron* called *κρωὸς*  
as if it were a Pot: and in *Moschus* *χρύσιος κρωὸς*, as if it were *Idyl. 4.*  
wont to be gilded. And in \* *Plutarch* *λίθινος σορὸς*, as if it were \* *In Numa.*  
wont to be stone, methinks it may be called a coffin, for  
I read it was usually made of Wood, viz. of Cedar, which  
is longest a rotting, and is therefore called *νεκρῶν ζώη*, the life  
of the dead. Indeed whether it were ordinary to have such  
coffins, or only for those that had *Sepulchra*, and vaults of  
purpose under ground to set them in, I cannot well tell. But  
that there was such a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the  
word *κέδρε*, used sometimes for the chest it self does seem to  
declare in those words of *Admetus* desiring to lye with his  
Wife in the *Grave-bed* too.

\* *Ὡς τῶν αὐτῶν γὰρ μ' ἐποχήσω κέδρε*

\* *Eurip. Alc.*  
*v. 355.*

*Σοίτεις δ' εἶναι πλεονέχουσιν* —

A wish not unreasonable; seeing the thing desired was so usual  
both among the Greeks and the Romans too. St. *Austins* own  
Mother was of the same mind: for why?

*Quos certus amor quos hora novissima junxit*  
*Componi tumulo non inuideatis eodem.*

*Ovid. Met. l. 4*  
*fab. 2.*

The Athenians indeed seldome put above one mans bones in  
the same coffin: but the *Megarenses* many times four, saies  
*Pausanias*. The bones which they kept, because they were that  
which the fire left, were called *λείψανα* or *Reliques*. And they  
were thus kept saith the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Orestes*,  
*μήπως οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c.* least they should be exposed to the rage  
of too deadly enemies. If the party were burnt in a forraigne  
Countrey, his bones or his ashes were carried home in the  
coffin



coffin, and pompously shewed and adorned with Garlands in every place they came to, according to that of Ovid.

*Ossa tamen facito parvâ referantur in Urnâ*

*Sic ego non etiam mortuus Exul ero.*

When they came where there were crosse waies, those that were of kin to the party, kept *Comspitalia* feasts, *ἵδαν* \* *ἀγυιᾶν* *οὐ ἐορταὶ αἱ γυνόμεται ἐν τῷ ὁδοῖς καὶ τῷ ἀποσπαστικῶν τῆς νεκρῆς*, After they had laid it up among the Monuments, they cited the party three times (twas a number very superstitiously used by all nations) to make his appearance.

*Virgil.*

—*Magnâ manes ter voce vocavi.* (but of this al-

ready) Now the place where the coffin was put, was a Sepulcher common to all the rest of the family, only such as proved a unthrifts, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of *ἀπὸ ταφῆς*.

a Diog. La.

\* Harpoer.

## CAP. XXX.

### *De Tumulis.*

THE customes used in a cold burial were these. (and some of them used at a burning too: as the Sacrifice, the speeches, and the playes) The peculiar place of buriall was usuall chosen before they died, and markt with a black stone. And when they came to be buried, a heap of earth thrown upon the body, *οὗς ἐξέθην γῶμ' Ἀχλὺς τῆς*, &c. saies *Ulysses* (in *Hecuba Euripidis*) agreeable whereto, is that phrase of the same Poet in another place *μνῆρα* *ἔξωκεν τῆς* and the Latine word *Tumulus* a heap or a grave. But (I think) for the better sort, they made it higher, and a little handsomer, with stones, somewhat after the fashion of our Tombs. For so *Theophrastus* told *Hercules*, the *Athenians* should honour his Corpse — *Αὐτοῖσι τ' ἔξωκώμασι*. Whether earth or stones: it seems they desired to have it polished, as neat as might be, fast and smooth.

*Τύμβος*

Ἄλkestις, and in *Helena* — ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ ξέστῳ πάσῳ  
 faies the same Poet in The po-  
 stance which the body usually had in the grave, was with the  
 face towards the East saies *Diogenes Laert.* in *Democrito*; to-  
 wards the West, saies *Plutarch* and *Ælian*. On the stone  
 which I mentioned, was written the name and the condition of  
 the party deceased, which they described commonly in verse.  
*Plato* was for just four Heroick verses and no more. Such  
 Epitaphs they called *γνώσματα*, because they made known  
 the party: as the Romans did *Monumenta* and *Memorias*, be-  
 cause they made them remembred. And therefore the *Lacede-  
 monian* Souldiers, (saies *Justin*) used to tye a ticket, or a note,  
 about their wrists, to certifie of what condition they were;  
 that in case they should dye in the fields, they might have  
 a Burial and a Monument according to their quality. Ha-  
 ving thrown the earth upon him, the next work was to Sacrifice,  
 and pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sit tibi terra levis*.  
 Such a prayer as the *Chorus* in *Euripides* used for *Alcestis*.

a Ib. v. 836.  
 b Ib. v. 992.

— κέφα σοι

Χθὼν ἐπάνω πείσεις, γύναι.

Which benefit as they thought too great to be granted to a  
 wicked c fellow, or a d Coward, so they thought it too little to  
 be denied to another: and this made *Menelaus* to fear so  
 little to dye, for saies he

c *Eurip. Hel.*  
 v. 857.

Εἰ γ' εἰσὶν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοὶ  
 Εὖ ψυχὴν ἀνδρα πολέμιον δαμόνδ' ὑπο  
 Κέφα καταμπίχουσι ἐν πύμβῳ χθονὶ  
 Κακὸς δ' ὑφ' ἔρμα στερεὸν ἐκβάλλουσι γῆτι.

# C A P. XXXI.

## *De Infernis.*

THE manner of Sacrificing to the Infernall gods, or the  
 gods of the dead (for *infernum* or *ᾍδης* or *ᾍδης*, is a place  
 for

for all alike) was to dig a ditch for the Altar (ἱερὸν) (per-  
chance to get the neerer to them) according to that practise in  
*Ovid.*

*Met. l. 7.*

*Haud procul egestâ scrobibus tellure duabus  
Sacra facit.*

*Odys. 11.*

\* *Æn. 6.*

The Victim then slain, was either a barren Cow, as \* *Homer*  
saies ———— στείρον βέν, ἥ τις αἰείη, And *Virgil*,

——— *Sterilemque tibi Proserpina, vaccam.*

Or else a black sheep, such as the old fellow saw slain at the  
grave of *Agamemnon*.

\* *Eurip. Ele-*  
*str. v. 513.*

\* Πυγὰς δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς οἶν μελὰ γχιμον πόκου  
Σφάμιον εἰσείδον ———

<sup>a</sup> *In Oedip. v.*  
556.

*L. 7.*

*Plut. in Sol.*

*Hom. Il. 4.*

And such as *Seneca* speaks of a *Nigro bidentes vellere*, &c. the  
reason why they made choyce of this colour, was either be-  
cause it suited best with mourning: or because it was to the  
black gods of the dark. For as *Arnobius* saies, *Diis lavis sedes*  
*habitantibus inferas color furvus est gravior*. Afterwards it  
rose to an Ox, till it was forbidden by *Solon*. Whether it  
were Sheep or Fullock, or Hog: as it was best, if it were a  
spayd or a barren female: so it might not be Ram nor  
Bull, nor Boar, &c. τὰ μὴ γινώντα ζῶα, or ὅσα τε ἐς εἰρῶν, καὶ  
ὅσα μὴ ἦσαν ἐνορχα, saies the Scholiast; and that for the same  
reason (as he saith) for which at the same time they offer-  
ed down both their haire, and the Bristle-haire of the beast,  
which grew upon his fore-head, Ἀπαρχὰς, viz. ὡς ἀρχὴς τὸ  
ῥυμιον ἀποσιόμενος, that they might not give the dead, either  
that which had life in it-self, or that which could beget it in  
another thing. Those *seta*, or bristle-haires, are in a peculiar  
manner termed ἀπαρχαί, and the offering thereof, ἀπαρχαίαι,  
as in these words.

*Il. 8.*

——— ἀπαρχόμενῳ κεφαλῆς τεύχεα ἐν ποιεὶ βάλλον  
Ἀργιόδοτον ὅῳ

Thus rendred in the words of *Virgil*,

*Et summas carpens media inter cornua setas  
Ignibus imposuit. —*



Yea not only the beast which they *slew*; but all the rest which they suffered to live, in the time of a publick funeral, came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men: As appears by the practise of *Mardonius* and his Army, reported by *Herodotus*, to have trim'd their Horses and Bullocks, and all, at the funeral of *Masistius*. In the like manner *Alexander* at the funeral of *Hephestion* dealt with the Horses and the Mules, and the walls themselves of the Town of *Ecbatana* *ᾠφικείας* (as *Ælian* has it) *shaving* them *εἰς ῥῆσιν* close to the ground. And, I remember, in *Æuripides*, *Admetus* desiring to celebrate his Wifes funeral in the best manner that might be, gives order for the Coach-horses manes to be all cut.

a In *Alcest.* v. 429.

— *ἡ μονάμπυκος*

*Πῶλος σιδῆρ' ἔμμετ' αὐχένων φόβλιν.*

Then besides the victime they had *τὰς χοάς* *Libationes*, which was usually *μελίκερπον*, hony and milk and wine; to which they added Cakes, if the Translator render it a right

— *ἐμπύρος ὀδοσάτας*. In *Æuripides*, the manner of u-

sing these liquors, was first to go round about the grave, and powre out some, as they went, out of the bottle (as he c saies *λύσας ἀποδόν*) and then to stand on the top, and do it there too, as *Sophocles* saies *κωλῶνις ἔξ ἄκρας*, &c. As they offered they used certain speeches to the party deceased, such as that was

b *Hel.* v. 554.

*Id.* in *Elect.* v. 530.

*Ἑλίησ' ἀδελφὴν δὲ δαδῆν χοαῖς.*

Together with prayers to the gods, and the ghosts of the dead to be propitious to them. And therefore those *χοαί*, were usually termed *ἡδυνήθειαι*, and *δελκηνήθειαι*, and *κληητήθειαι*; *Χοαί*: and they made choise of the most proper liquors, for to sweeten and supple them. Such a prayer is that in *Æuripides* to the ghost of *Achilles*, *ὦ παῖ πηλέως, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς, δέξαι χοαῖς με τὰς ὃ κληη- πείεις νεκρῶν ἀγωγὰς*, &c.

Those Sacrificing offices were especially to be performed by the Kindred too (as most of the rest were) and therefore *Cassandra* setting forth the sad condition of the Leagues at *Troy*, and their friends at home, saies she, *Their Parents be-*

ing thus bereft of their children in the Siege.

-----ὅ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς

ἑαδ' ὅστις αὐτῶν ἄμα γῇ δωρήσεται.

—no body have

To let a victim blood upon their grave.

### C A P. XXXII.

#### *De Coronandis tumulis, & de Phylloboliâ.*

**B**ESIDES all this, there must be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the horse and the corps : And this action they called *σφαιῖν* & *πύβον*, and the Garlands themselves *ἔρωτας* and that more properly then any of the former, as being not only *ἡγωνισμένους*; made of a *Col-lation*, or a *Collection* of all sorts of flowers gathered together, but also made to be thrown ἐπὶ & *ἔειν*, upon the *Earth*. Sometimes indeed they made those Garlands of nothing but the flower *πόδος*, (saith <sup>a</sup> *Athenaus* :) and then the Garlands were called *πόδοι* too. And it may be sometimes of *Σέλιον* & or *Apium* as I have occasion to think from that story of *Timoleon*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance Mules laden with this *Apium*. The Souldiers being affrighted therewith, because of the use which they knew to be made of that hearb in funeralls (whence the proverb of one that is desperately sick *δεῖξ' σελίνον*, *that he needs Apium*) refus'd to fight : but he told them, *Nay, rather take courage, my Souldiers, and make it an omen of victory, for there is use of the hearb, when a man has won the best at a fight, as well as when death hath given him the worst.* The first beginning of this custome, is by *Philostratus* (in *Heroicis*) attributed to the *Thessali*, when they did it to the grave of *Achilles*. The reason of it, saies *b Clemens*, was to expresse the quiet condition of the dead, and their freedom from care and trouble, ἀνοχλήτε ἀμεριμνίας ὁ σφαιν & σμβολον. But I rather think

<sup>a</sup> L. 14. c. 5.

<sup>b</sup> *Pedag. l. 11.*  
c. 8.

think with the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly told you, that they intended it *πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μεταφορᾷ τῶν νεκρῶν*, to honour the dead as they use to do the living, when they won the *Game*. For the same reason, doubtlesse, was it that they did *φυλλοβολεῖν* (as they called it) fall a throwing of boughs and leaves upon the grave: as *Euripides* saies, they did to *Polyxena*, when she dyed (for in latter times, if a man had won a race or the like, they had a custome to bedeck his valiant corps with boughs and leaves) you have it done by an old fellow in *a Euripides* with Myrtle.

— *πύρρον δ' ἀμφέδυνε μυρτιάς.*

*a Electr. v.*  
*512.*

Whether was there any allusion therein to the *golden-bough* or no? I think not: but if you will, you may read more of that *Æn. 6.* bough in *Virgil*, and in *Servius* his notes upon him. It seems that in *Italy* they had the same customes. For saies *b Varro, ad L. 6. de L. L. Sepulchrum ferunt frondes*, they carried leaves to cast upon the dead trees. And that they took the pains to make Garlands too, will appear by those words of *Min. Felix* to *Octavius*, *Coronas etiam sepulchris denegatis, &c.* nay *Addunt nunc etiam lanam*, saies my Author, they came to wool at last, when they had more to spare.

### CAP. XXXIII.

*De Columnis. de Oratione. & Ludis funeribus.*  
*& de Aquilis.*

**E**ither upon, or close by the grave, they were wont to erect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above three cubits by the Law. To the Pillar sometimes they added, either the Image of the party, or of somewhat else to resemble him. Thus *Diogenes* was honoured with the Image of a dog, for being a *Cynick*: and *Isocrates* with the Image of a *Siren*, for being an *Orator*. And it puts me in mind of *Admetus* his over constant love to his wife; when he would get the



Image curiously made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for so he tells her.

Σοφῇ δ' χεὶ τεκνίων δέμας τὸ σὸν  
Εἰκὲ δὲν ἐν λέκτροισιν ἐκταθῆσε.

Lib. de Orat.

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private discourse at home at the feast, or by a publique speech in the *Ceramicus*. Which speech, if the party dyed in a battel, was to be made by one appointed by the Magistrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not only at the time of buriall, but every year after: as *Cicero* saies, *in Populari oratione mos est Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in praelio sint interfecti: quæ sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illâ die recitari necesse sit.*

The first that began this custome of making speeches, some say was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of those that were slain in the *Peloponnesian* war; and some, *Solon*. But besides funeral-speeches, they had funeral-plays too, ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους both the Play and the Feast, commonly go under the name of τῆφος.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company of fopperies, practised by the unhappy people of those times, even in burialls, when they should have more wit: what will you say, if I have that yet left, which will please you all as much, viz. That even they themselves for the most part, esteemed those practises, both unprofitable to the dead, and vain and foolish in the living, as may appeare in the words of *Hecuba* her self, or the \* Poet for her.

\* Eurip. Tro-  
ad. v. 1247.

Δοκῶ δ' τοῖς θανούσι διαφέρειν βραχὺ.

Εἰ πλοῦσι γὰρ τὸ ξῆμα κτερισμάτων

Κενὸν δ' γαῦρων' ὅτι οἱ ζώντων τὸ δ'.

I think it boots the dead the least of all,

How rich or poor they have the funeral,

Tis th' livings vanity for this to call.

Having thus disposed of the body, they returned home. For the Soule they take no care, unlesse it were a King or a Prince

Prince, whose soules they imagined ἵχνη to be carried into Artemid. l. 2. heaven upon *Eagels wings*: and therefore was it, that they were \*wont to honour them with the pictures of *Eagels*. So at Rome, when they buried an Emperour, they used to let fly an Eagle over the grave. In allusion to this *Lycophron* calls *Achilles* ἀετὶν an Eagle, because he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach,

C A P. XXXIV.

De Lustratione Domus funesta, & de Parentalibus, &c.

BEing come home, they fell a purging and *Lustrating* the house with brimstone; and *themselves*, by going through the fire, or some other lustration; for there were severall sorts thereof, and if I have leasure, I may chance to speak more of it. Thus I remember in the Poet, tis said they did to the Kings house, who was slain by *Hercules*: rounding the Altar with a Basket, and dipping the δαλάν in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

Ἰερεῖ μὲν ὡς πᾶσι δ' ἐχέουσι δ' ὅ  
καθάρσι δ' ὅλων.

Eurip. Herc.  
F. v. 923.

After this they kept a feast, τὸ παρὰδειπνον *Silicernium*, or *circumrotationem*, as the manner is with some of us. Those that were at it, wore Garlands: as *Cicero* saies, *quas inibant parentes coronati*. The colour of their apparel was white: & *quis unquam cœnavit atratus*, saies \* *Cicero*. Put how is it then that *Homier* makes *Thetis* to go all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son \* So I remember *Admetus* in \* *Euripides* bids them mourn for *Alcestis*, ἐν μελανοπέπλῳ σολῇ, in black: and *Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funeral of *Adonis* κωσὸν in a sky coloured gown. Perchance they wore black no longer then till it came to the feast. This feast they renewed again, not only nine daies after, when they called it ἑννατα, and thirty daies after, when they called it τριακοντάσις (when they

Odys. 17.

\* In vatiniū.

Il. 24.

\* Alc. v. 427.

they sacrificed to *Mercury*, that he might carry their souls to the *fielâs*) but also upon the day of his death ever after; calling it *νεκρῶσις*, and upon the day of his birth calling it *γενέσις*. The common name for all these feasts, or the common festivall for all the infernal rites, and for all persons, was *Νεμεῖσις*, usually kept in the Moneth of *Antheſterion*: as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the Moneth of *February*, in quibus parentabantur manibus mortuorum, when the Kindred especially (*les parens*) did sacrifice both to the earth, and the gods under it, and the ghosts of their Parents, or their Ancestors above it.

Of all these Funerall rites that I have named, none that had been an enemy to the person deceased, might be suffered to bear any part: as appears by the words of *Electra* to *Chrysothemis* forbidding her to sacrifice,

Οὐ δ' ὅστις ἐχθρὸς ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἱερῶν  
κτελείματα —

Nor so much as come neer the grave, as *Ulysses* in *Sophocles* is forbid to do to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay such was *Sepulchralis sanctitas*, (saies *Tully*) that no *stranger* might be suffered to do it, for fear he might be an enemy. Moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or add any thing more to the monuments, then what was already made.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the Month of death, (for so \* *Homer* calls the grave) to be gnawn like a sheep, by the never satisfied teeth of hungry *ἔρως*. For *τυμβεύουμεν* Ⓞ, he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the belly of the earth, is as properly said to be devoured, as what is devoured and inclosed in the stomach of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly said to be buried *τυμβεύειν*. For so the *Vultures* are called \* *τῆρος ἐμ-λῶροι*, living graves: nay the Metaphor is commonly made reach to men themselves, some of whom, even their mouths are open *sepulchers*, as well as the bellies have been of others. As that

\* *Il. p.*

*Psal. 49. 14.*

\* *Hermog.*



of *Tereus* when he eat his Sonne.

—Seq. vocat. bustum miserabile nri.

And of Saturn when he did the like. Nay being buried, and being devoured, have been counted so synonymous, that (as *Lactantius* saies) *Saturn* was thought to have been said to have eaten his Sons, because he buried them where they might not be seen. Well, it cannot be helpt: these great eaters Death and the Grave are all mouth, and no ears, like the belly. There's no stopping nor filling their mouth. *Ad: in Tr: Suppl.* saies *Aeschylus*, *Pluto has no Altars*. He is inexorable, and therefore called *ἀναισθητός* in *Euripides*. Neither (saies a \* Scho- \* On *Hom.* liaft) was Death ever known to have an Altar but at *Gadira*, I II. know not wherefore. Let us see therefore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone.

His Wife, if she seemed to be with child, was taken into the care and protection of the *Archon*, lest she might be cunningly perswaded to marry with whom she should not; and if any man offered to wrong her, the punishment was arbitrary. The children were committed *ἐπιτροπῇ* to a *Tutor*. He that was *ἐπιτροπὴν*, to be overseer or Guardian, was either not to be of Kin at all; or else so far off, that if the child should happen to die in his nonnage, the inheritance could not fall to him. A Tutor was either by will or by appointment of the *Archon*. Which way soever it were, he was *παιδῶν κύριος* (saies *Aeschines*) and had the managing of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty yeare old: and then either they themselves, or any else that would, might sue out *δίκην ἐπιτροπῆς*, a writ *Male administrata Tutela*, and have him before the *Archon*. But this must be done within five yeares after the Pupil came to be of age, or not at all.



# LIB. VI.

## SECTIO. I.

*De Supplicationibus & juramentis.*

C A P. I.

*De Supplicibus sacris De asylis & aris.*



Having taken this care to see the Marriage of himself, the Education of his children, and the honourable Burial of his Body, it will be expected, that now I say somewhat in commendation of his conditions, and concerning his manner of Life, either towards the gods, or towards Men. Of his carriage towards the gods, because there has been something already done in that kind, I shall not speak so largely; only a word or two, or more of the customs used in *Supplication* to, and in Swearing by the gods: and then I shall proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his friends in making merry with his equals, and giving to the Poor; or his Enemies

Enemies in waging of War. This Treatise, because of the diversity of subjects, you have divided into three several Sections, the first of Supplication called by them *ἱκετεία*.

The person of a distressed Petitioner (as an abused slave or the like) whether he addressed himself to men, or to the gods, but especially if to the gods, was to be look't upon as Sacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, sent from *Dodona's* Vocal Forrest to the *Athenians*, related by *Pausanias*.

Φεγγετο δ' Ἀρκίῳ τε πάροιθε καὶ τε θυόδεσσιν  
 Ἑρμηνίδαν, ὅτι χρὴ Νεκροπομπῆν ἱκετεύουσι  
 Διὶ πατρὶ καὶ θεῶν, πρὸς μὴ σὺ κτεῖνε σιδήρην  
 Μῦθ' ἱκέτης ὠδινῶν, ἱκέταις ἐγὼ τε καὶ ἄλλοι.

For if he came flying to such or such Altars as were appointed to be *ἄσυλοι*, none might touch him upon pain of exilement. And therefore is it that *Polidorus* in *Euripides* makes it such a ground for his confidence: saies he

—*Βάμνοι δ' ἐχέμεν πᾶσι πάροιθε*. The Altars are not far off. So in another Tragedy, when *Helena* kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, *Menelaus* wondering thereat, what (saies he) dost Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode? And no wonder that they thus fled to Altars, or that others feared to meddle with, or to slay any body neer them: viz: Because they thought the blood would be upon them that should do it, yea though the Supplicants were already dead in the Law. For so the *Chorus* in *Ion* tells *Creusa*, the Law forbids any Petitioner to be put to death, True (saies she) but I must be killed by the same Law. No matter (replies the *Chorus*) sit fast, and if any one kill thee there.

a Eurip. Hel.  
v. 805.

ἢ Περσέγοντον αἷμα θήσεις,  
 Thy blood shall be upon him.

b Ib. v. 1258.

Insomuch that a great many even among them, seeing Malefactors thus protected from the Law, and consequently encouraged to the transgression, were bold to complain of the injustice of it, as you have *Ion* in the Tragedy, thus

Φεῦ δαιμόνιε θανάτου τὸ νόμος ὥς ἐκάλῳς  
 Ἐθελὼ δ' εἶδ' ἀπὸ γράμης σφῆς

M m 2

Tz



Τὴν μὲν δ' ἀφ' αὐτοῦ βαμδὶ ἐκ ἱερὸν ἔχοντες  
 ἅμ' ἐξελάνυν, ἐδὲ δ' αὖτε καλὸν  
 θεῶν ποτὶν ἐν χεῖρα.

I said before, *such or such*: because 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this privilege, but only six, viz. *Misericordia*; *Minerva*, *Eumenidum*, *Munichia*, and two of *Theseus* Temples, one within, and another without the Walls, The first of these some say was the first *Asylum* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand-children, to preserve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius ad Æn. 8. Postquam Hercules migravit à terris, nepotes ejus timen-* te, *insidias eorum quos avus affligerat Athenis sibi primi Asylum, hoc est, templum misericordie collocarunt, unde nullus posset ab-* duci. An example imitated by other people, almost in every Country. For they thought that otherwise a beast had a safer condition than a man, ἔχει δ' καταφυγῇ μὲν δὴ πύργον, δ' αὖτε δὲ βαμδὶ θεῶν. But is he now safe for ever? yes, unless they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we use to do *Eeles*, &c. And thus he in *Plantus* threatened to do.

In Rud. Act.  
 3. Sc. 4.

Ibo Hercle aliquo queritatum ignem.

Ignem magnum hic faciam----

and *Hermione* in

*Euripides* to *Andromache* sheltering her self by the Altar of *Thetis*. Πῦρ σοι προσίσσω— on which the *Scholiast* thus ἐδὲ τῷ τοῖς βαμδὶ καὶ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ ποτὶν ἐν χεῖρα, &c. And yet all ἱερεῖς or *Petitioners*, were not so afraid of a fire. As appears by the name of *Εφέσσι*, which they have from flying to *hearths*, the place for the fire, for refuge: as *Themistocles* did, when being *Ostracis'd* and banished; he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Molossi* for shelter. Otherwise none that fled thither, could be so wicked, but they counted him worse that should meddle with him. Insomuch that those who killed the followers of *Cylon* (though they plundered the Temple of *Minerva*) because they killed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after themselves, and all other such prophane companions after them called ἀλιτῆες, as who should say, *hinderers* & *liars* of *supplications*.

supplication. Profane, I said, for it was no better than profanation, according to the Poet, ἐσθλὴ μαίνεται, the Garlands are Polluted.

Eurip. in Heracle.

C A P. II.

De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus.

PETITIONERS both to the gods and men, used to go with *στέφανοι* Garlands about their necks, or green boughs in their hands *ἵνα αἰδέσθωνται θεοὶ καὶ πόλις, ἵς ἐκέλευον* (saith the Scholiast on *Sophocles*) to beget respect, and amuse the beholders. Those green boughs are called by the several names of *θαλλοὶ*, *φυλλὰδες*, *ἐκτῆρες*, *ἐκτῆες*, *κλάδοι*, and sometimes *ἰκτερίαι* for *Iphigenia* wanting them, told her Father she would make her own body supply the room thus,

*a In Oed.*

*b In Aul. 1216.*

Ἰκτερίαν ὃ γόνασιν ἐξέπλω σέθεν  
τὸ σῶμα τὸ μόνον---

In those boughs they put wooll, (as we do silk in posies) and so called then *εἰρεσιώνας*, *vittatas laureas*.

Δήνει μεγίστω σφαιρόνως ἐσεμμένον

*Æschyl. in eum.*

Ἀρσὼ τε μαλλῶ

The wooll was not ty'd,

and so fastened to the boughs, but only wreathed and wrapped up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Æthen* in the Tragedy of the *Theban Women Petitioners* (v. 31.) called it *ἄσμων ἄδεσμον φυλλὰς* the *Tye without a knot*. The *Italians* used such boughs too, as it seems, for *Virgil* saies

*Jamq; oratores aderant ex Urbe Latinâ*

*Velati ramis oleæ veniamq; rogantes.*

And *Livy* speaks of the like practise of the people of *Rhodes*. The boughs were either of *Laurel* or *Olive*.

*c Vittate laurus & supplicis arbor Olive.*

First, because both those kinds are *ἀειδαλῆς* not subject to withering, and therefore *d Euripides* gives the latter the epithete of *ἀεικέλιος*. 2ly. Because the *Laurel* was a sign of prevailing,

*e Stat. Theb. l. 12.*

*d In Ion. v. 1436.*

a Dion. Halic.  
l. 4.  
b Soph. Oed. T.  
c Eurip. in  
Herac.

and the Olive of Peace and good will, as *Laetanius* saies, *per quam pax petitur supplicando*. Now the custome was with those boughs, if they were doubtful of prevailing, to touch but the *knees* of the man whom they petitioned, or of the statue of the god, just as a *Lucretia* did *κατέπαυ αὐτὴ λαβομένη*: But if hopeful, the *hands*. b *ἐξικέσθου εἰ ἐμὴς χεῖρὲς διγών*. And if confident, the *chin*, and the *cheeks*, c *αἰς c καὶ τοῖς*. It is said by a Comment upon *Pindar* in his *νεμ*. (where the Poet desires to touch *Aeacus* his knees, when he praies for a Gale of successe for the *Aegineta*) that when they desired the parties *consent*, they touched the head to have it *annuere*: when his help, his *helping hand*; when successe, the *knee*. The last I know no great reason for, but *history* enough, even from the *Natural Historian* himself. *Hominis genibus quedam religio inest observatione gentium; hac supplices attingunt, ad hac manu tendunt; hac ut aras adorant*. All his reason is, because of the abundance of spirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortasse quia inest iis vitalitas, quippe quorum inanitate fassa, cum jugulo, spiritus fugiat*. And therefore *Homer* makes the *Lites*, the *Petitioners* gods to be lame. As good as that of *Zenobius* *οἱ οὐ κερταῖς τοῖς πόσιν εἶχον, ἀ τῶν εἰς χειρὶ καὶ πόσιν*, because Judges had that upon their knees then, which now they write in their books.

Xenoph. l. 7.

If the *Petitioners* were very fearful, and the persons of very great quality, they would bow so low as to kisse his feet: as those did to *Cyrus*, *κύρου κατεφίλεν καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας*. It was either this kisse, or a kisse of their own hand, which they anciently termed *labratum*, The old glosse calls it *φίλημα βασιλικόν, ἢ ἀσπαστικόν βασιλέως*. I have read of a kisse of the hand when they did the reverence to the Gods, with putting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joynr, which they used in counting the number of ten) and then giving a turn on the right hand, as it is in d *Plautus*,

d In Curculi.

*Qua me vortam, nescia. Si deos salutas, dextro vortam, censeo.*

The safest place for a *Petitioner* to men too, as well as to the gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth or the fire,



fire whither they presently ran, when they came to any strange place in travel, or exilement, as to the onely Altar of the house, and the gods thereof. For according to that of Cicero in his oration for his house, *Nihil Sanctius, nihil omni religione munitius, quam domus uniuscujusq; civium. Hic ara sunt, hic foci, hic dii penates, hic sacra religionis ceremonia continentur: hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde arripi neminem fas sit.* When they had once seated themselves there in the ashes, in as mournful posture as might be: they need not open their mouths for pittie; neither was it the custome so to do: For those actions speak loud enough; and an eye would serve for hearing.

Τῷ δ' ἄνω, καὶ ἀναυδοῖ ἐν ἱερῇ ἀίχματι  
ἱζανον &c.

This was the practise of *Ulysses* at the house of *Alcinous*, and of *Themistocles* at the house of *Admetus*; but so as first, by the instruction of the Queen, he took the Kings little son along with him for his guard, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην καὶ μόνην χεῖδον ἀνατίστηναι ἡγεμῶν καὶ ἱεροῦ ἔργῳ Μολοσῶν, the only way in use among the people to obtain a request.

L. 4. Argon.  
a Odyss. 7.

Thycidid.

If they fled to the gods for refuge or for help, their fashion was first to crown the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray, that their desires might be crowned with successe.

b Πάγτας δὲ βαμὲς οἱ κατ' Ἀδμήτου θύμῃς  
Προσάδῃ καὶ ἀξίεψέ, καὶ προσήξατο  
Πτόδων ἀπορίσσεια μερσινῶν φόβῳ.

b Eurip. in  
Alcest.

Their usual gesture in praying, was to hold up their arms right toward Heaven, as c *Helen* saies

c Eurip. He-  
len. v. 1100

— οὐδ' αὖτε δίκην αὖτις ἐπαρὼν  
ῥιπτεῖν —

But to wrest their hands as far as they could upon their wrists. According to that of *Aeschylus*, where he saies of *Promethens*, that though the gods had tyed him fast to the hill, his stomach was so great, that he said he scorned to submit or pray manibus supinis, with bended hands like Women and children:

children.

Τὸν αὐτονόμους ἐπιδομασθε ἑαῶν.

Now sometimes, if they obtained their request, and it were a matter of consequence, you should have them relate it to the Priest of the Temple to be registred; or write it down in a Table, and leave it behind them, to show for a testimony.

### C A P. III.

#### De generibus & locis sacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's even out with a little more of that which we have observed in reading, concerning their manner of serving their gods. Their divine services in respect of the cause or occasion, were 1. *ἐκταῖα*, or *χαισθήα*, *vota*, *free-will offerings*, services promised and paid for a victory or the like.

\* Ovid. Met.  
l. 9.

—\* *Ceneo sacra parabat*

*Vota Jovi* — 2ly. τὰ Ἀπὸ μαντείας, such as were imposed, and commanded by an Oracle.

\* Sophoc. on  
Trach.

—\* *Εὐκταῖα φαῖν ἢ πὸ μαντείας τυγῆς.*

a Schol. in  
Arist. in Avib.

In respect of the object (that is to which of the gods they were formed) they were done either 1. *ὑποχθονίοις* to the gods under ground, and that ἐν' ἐχέλας in a ditch digged, or plowed up for that purpose. The Latines called it *Ara*, such as they used when they sacrificed to the *Heroes*, for whom they had also Ἡρώα, Temples and Plaies, and what not) together with the a Image of *Vulcan* made of clay, to set it forth. 2ly *Τοῖς χθονίοις*, to the gods upon ground, much in the same manner. And 3ly *Τοῖς ἐπερνίοις*, to the gods above ground, ἐπὶ βωμῷ, upon an Altar raised up high from the ground, which the Latines therefore called *Altare*, and the Greeks b ἔργον ἱερῶν, and c γαίαν ἔργον, as if it were a work, vallum, or *Agger*, made of earth cast up together. The distinction betwixt βωμός and ἐχέλας, is set down by the Scholiast on Euripides

l Soph. in  
Tomb.  
c Eurip. in  
Herac.

Euripides

<sup>a</sup> Euripides thus, Βωμός is an Altar built up high with an ascent <sup>a</sup> In Phaniff. of severall steps: ἐχέει as it were one step it self, after the fashion of some hearths in the figure of a quadrangle. (Just as they made their Λάκκοι <sup>b</sup> wherein they powred oyle and wine, and tempered it with the dust, to make cakes for the Divel) The oc- <sup>b</sup> Schol in A- cation given him to make this distinction, was the words βω- ristoph. Ecclef. μοι ἐχέει in the Author: whereupon he notes that ἐχέει was there used in a large fence, for the hole, τὸ κοίλωμα, or the con- cavitie in the top of the βωμός for the fire. At the making of a βωμός (and so at the making of a statue to be worshipped) they had a custome: ὁσπερὶ ἐν φημένον χύτρας περιπομπάειν, for women in garments of severall colours, to carry about pots of severall sorts of boyled pulse, and to offer thereof to the gods.

<sup>c</sup> Schol. in Ari- stoph. in Pluro.

—— τὰς χύτρας αἰεὶ ἢ διδόν

Ἰδρυόμεθα, λαβῆς δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν φέρε.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and so it may be called χῶμα or *tumulus*, as it uses to be sometimes of ashes; sometimes of earth and blood tempered together; sometimes of stone, and sometimes of wood. For the figure, it was sometimes long, and sometimes square; but most often <sup>d</sup> κυκλωεῖς round: as the Theatre, the market-places, and their Tables used to be. The places where they made their Altars, were usuall *Mountains* and *high-places* (so often ob- jected to the heathenish Israelites) for according to the Scho- liaft upon these words of <sup>e</sup> Sophocles, τὸν Οἴπης ζηνδὲ ὑψίστον πᾶρον &c. πᾶν ὃ θεὸς τῷ Διδὲ ὀνομάζει καὶ ἐπὶ ὑψίστῳ ἵκει, τὸ δὲ αὖ ἐν ὑψέῳ δέει <sup>e</sup> τὰς δυοῖα ποιῶν τὰς ἀπὸς αὐτὸν, every Mountaine was called by Ju- piter's name, or consecrated to Jupiter, because the god being in a high place, it was fit to sacrifice to him in a high place, to be heard the better; as it was to the terrestiall gods in a low, to come neerer to them. Besides, the Altar in such a place, was the lesse in danger to be got up upon, and profaned, as being kept (as the same Scholiaft saies) ἀβέβηλον καὶ ἀβατον,

<sup>d</sup> Odysf. 5.

<sup>e</sup> In Trach.



a Pindar.  
Isth. Δ.

b Schol. in  
Eurip.

c Suidas.

d Aristoph. in  
Equit.

3ly, In respect of time, some do say that they sacrificed to the *Hero's*, <sup>a</sup> ἐν δυσμαΐσιν αὐγῶν in the evening, and to others in the morning.

Lastly, in respect of the matter or the thing sacrificed, it was either ἥ ζῶων of living creatures, properly called *δυσία*, or else of things without life; and those either ξερῶν dry, as corn and flower, or ὕγρων wet, as Wine, or Milk, or Hony, usually called by the name of *χρῖν*. The first *Pythagoras* could not endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing; and so was all for his ἀγνὰ δύματα, wherein there was no bloud, or ἀκαπναι *δυσίαι*, (as *Thucydides* calls them) where there was no smoake, or c *νηφάλις* *δυσία*, where there was no Wine. But every one else almost lik't it too well, and no such glorious a businessse as an ἐν τελείῃ *δυσία*, a whole burnt sacrifice. Sometimes greater then a *Suovetauralia*, and consisting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat: and sometimes but a *τριπῆς* of a Sow, a Ramme, and a Goat, I hardly believe they ever went so high as an hundred, notwithstanding — *τελείας ἐκατόμβας*. Out of every Sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Commissaries, unlesse they were robbed of their due: as it seemes they were sometimes, by him in the Poet, threatening to complain of one that did so,

d Καὶ σὺ φανῶ τοῖς πρυτάνεσι  
'Αδελκατεύτης ἥ δειῶν ἱε-  
ρῆς ἐχόντα κοιλίας.

#### CAP. IV.

##### De generibus & formulis jurandi.

\* Hesiod.

\* Ep. ad Heb.  
6. 16.

Idem. in The-  
ogon.

Οὐρανὸν an Oath, (the son \* of *Eris*, and yet the end \* of all contention) was of two sorts, viz. ὁ μέγας, & ὁ μικρὸς, the greater, and the lesse. The greater oath was either of men by the gods, or the gods themselves, by the *Stygian Lake*.

Αὐτῶν μὲν δὲ ἔδνα δειῶν μέγαν ἐμμεγαλὸν ὄρκον.

Which

Which is the cause why some fetch the word  $\delta\rho\alpha\theta$  an oath, from *Orcus Hell*. This Oath was then invented by *Jupiter*, and prescribed by him to the rest of the gods, when he had the assistance of *Styx*, and his Sons against the *Titans*; or when he drank of the water, to quench his thirst in the fight. *Servius* saies (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had sworn false, or broken his oath when he swore by *Styx*, he was to be punished for it in hell nine thousand yeares. Which order, even *Jupiter* himself submitted to, and therefore took the more care how he swore, as *Minutius* saies, *Destinatam enim sibi cum suis cultoribus pœnam præsciens perhorrescit*. He that swore either of these waies, was properly said to  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ , and to yeeld himself up to the mercy of those that were able to punish him, if he called them to witnesse that which was contrary to his knowledge, or his meaning. So that sometimes it was the custome to adde an imprecation of some evill, wherewith he knew them able to punish him, if they swore false. As *Telemachus* does in *Homer*.

$\text{Ὅ μ' ἄλ' ὡς Ἀγλαῖα, καὶ ἄλλα πατρὸς ἐμοῦ.$

By *Jove*, and the sorrowes of my Father,

The *Womens* oath was commonly by *Juno*; and by my Lady *Diana*, as a *Clytemnestra* uses in *Euripides*,  $\mu\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\gamma\alpha\nu$  a In *Elect.*  $\text{Ἀρτεμιν}$ , much like the superstitious oath of *By my Lady*, among some of us. The gods, by whom the men were to swear by the appointment of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, one *Jupiter*  $\text{Ὀρεκισθ}$  with three names) viz.  $\text{Ἰκίσθ}$ ,  $\text{Καδῶριθ}$ , and  $\text{Ἐξασθεῖθ}$ . For that *Jupiter* was the proper *Custos juramentorum*, (as I may call him) if it do not appeare, (as some say it does) in the word *jusjurandum*, quasi *Jovis jurandum*, it will sufficiently be proved by the plaine testimony of the Poet, that saies

$\text{Ζῆναδ' ὅς ἄρκων}$

$\text{Θνατοῖς ταμίᾳς γενόμενα.$

But so farre were they from being contented to swear by none but *Jupiter*, that not only any other of the gods, but any of their own men lately dead, and thought to be defiled, did

N n 2

serve

*Eurip. Med.*

v. 170.

serve the turne : as when *Demosthenes* swore by τῶ ἐν Μαραθῶνι, those that valiantly dyed in the battle of *Marathon*. Sometimes for over much haſt or confidence, or ſome ſuch reaſon, they left it to the party, to whom they ſwore, to chuſe any of the gods, whomſoever him pleaſed to be tryed by : in this manner, ὅμνῃς μὲν πᾶσι θεῶν, as we ſay : *Ile lay you what you will*. This forme you may find uſed by *Plato* in *Phædro*, and *Ariſtenetus* in his *Epistle* of a *Euxitheus* to *Pythias*. Sometimes they ſwore by many gods together in the plurall number, without ſpecifying whom they meant. And ſometimes by all their twelve gods, (as the *Lacedæmoni-ans* did by their two τῶ Σιδ, *Castor* and *Pollux*) b μὰ τῶ δαίμονι θεῶν. — by the whole jury of the gods, (neither honeſt nor true; only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher houſe, and *Deos conſentes*, and ſo they put them together.) Other times again, they ſwore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place wherein they were, eſpecially belonged : expreſſing his name. For ſo in the Market in buying and ſelling, or the like buſineſſe, they commonly ſwore this Oath ἐν τῷ Ἑρμῇ τὸν Ἀργεῖον, by *Mercury*. But then you ſhould have ſome that out of meer *deiſidamony*, would ſay no more then μὰ τὸν. By ὅς. ἐν λαβείας χάριν ἐκφυγεμιζόμενοι, with a c religious *aprosiopeſis*, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the oath by an oath it ſelf, d μὰ τὸν ὕπερον. πῆ or μὰ with καὶ before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath : and μὰ for a negative.

a L. 2. Ep. 2.  
b Ariſtoph. in  
Equeſt.

c Ariſtoph. in  
Ran.

d Pind. Nem.

## CAP. V.

## De tribus in Jramento Magnis.

THE cuſtomes in taking a Great oath, if it were in a publick manner, and by way of vindication of the truth, were theſe. The gods uſed to liſt up their hands, as *Apollo* in



in the Poet bids *Lachesis* χῆρες ἀνείναι. Little thought he how the Scripture makes the like action of the true God in severall places. Men when they swore a great oath, laid down their hands upon the Altar, as we do upon the New Testament: whereas in a lesse, or in a private oath, made to such or such a Man, by way of a bargain or a promise, according to the Roman fashion, they laid their hand upon the hand of the party to whom they swore. This ceremony, I remember *Menelaus* in a *Euripides* demanded of *Helena* besides the <sup>a</sup>*Helen. v. 834* word of her oath.

Ἐπὶ τοῖς ὃ τοῖς νῦν, δεξιᾶς ἐμῆς δίξε.

2ly, To honour the gods by whom they swore, they sacrificed the life of *one* of these three beasts, <sup>b</sup> χῆρες, κριὸς, and πρῶ- <sup>b</sup> *Aristoph. in*  
*ys.* a Boare, a Ramme, and a Goat: or all *three*, and of every sort <sup>Lusist.</sup>  
one or three of one of the sorts, as *Adrastus* was made to do,  
of three sheep, in behalf of the *Argivi*.

— <sup>c</sup> λαμβάνε πρὸς τειῶν μῆλων τεμῶν which they called <sup>c</sup> *Eurip. 1 Sup.*  
*μυλοσφαγῆν*. Sometimes when they killed a goare, they cut <sup>v. 1200.</sup>  
out the stones (ὄρεα and ὄρυγες are pretty near kin) and stood  
upon them as they swore. A Ramme or a boare thus used  
is properly called *πυλίας*. Perhaps they used to sacrifice Pigs  
chiefly (as the Romans did) at the confirmation of Leagues  
and Truces. And good reason choyce should be made of  
that beast, rather than any other in swearing to, since there  
was so great account made of it in other busineses, as so-  
lemne as that. For first *Jupiter* was nursed by a Sow (say some)  
and concealed by the noyse of the grunting: and therefore  
with the *Cretians* his Country men, there might be no initi-  
ation without it. 2ly *Varro* <sup>d</sup> saith *pecoris immolandi initium* <sup>d</sup> *De Re Rust.*  
*sumptum à suillo: that it was the first beast that was Sacrificed.*  
which made some think that *ūs* was so called, *quasi sūs*, and  
*Sus quasi Thus*. Nay it was a creature so greatly sacred, (or  
employed to a sacred use,) that *Sacres* by it selfe, is used for  
little pigges consecrated for a Sacrifice. The flesh that was  
wont to be eaten in other Sacrifices, in these was not to be  
eaten:

a Aristoph. in  
Lusist.  
b Eustath. in  
Il. γ.

a eaten at all, except it were by the wormes and the fish. For either they buried it in the b ground, or else threw it into the Sea: as *Talthybius* did the Sow, which was sacrificed at an oath of *Agamemnon*.

## CAP. VI.

## De juramento Parvo &amp; ejus ritibus.

**M**ικρός ὄρκος, or the little oath, was when they swore by a creature (and their gods were hardly so much) such as *per Cramben*, or by a Goose or a Dogge, κίνα or χῆνα as the Socraticks did, having that practise commended to them by their own Master: who (as it is in the Scholies upon c *Aristophanes*) in his twelfth Book of *Κεντικῶν*, had told them that *Radamantus* the justest man that ever lived, had expressly forbid them to sweare by the gods; but instead thereof had allowed them the use of a Dogge or a Goose, or a Ramme, or such like creatures. Sometimes they swore by the ground they stood upon, as *Hippolitus* does, in *Euripides*.

— καὶ πῶς χρὸνός ἐμνύμι.

d V. 1025.

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they made use of. If the matter were serious, you might hear them swearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he does in *Virgil*,

e L. 2.

*Per Caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante solebat.*

Which was the reason (saies *Athenaus*) first, why they accounted the head ἱερόν, *holy and Sacred*. 2ly, Why they did προσκυνεῖν τὸ πλεμὺς, *bow the knee at a Sneeze*. 3ly, Why the old Philosophers made such a scruple to eate of the head of any kind of creature. And 4ly, Why they used this oath but seldome, accounting it ἀγρόν ὄρκον, as *Helena* called it when she swore to *Menelaus*, though it were by his head, and not her own. Ἀλλ' ἀγρόν ὄρκον σὸν καὶ ἐγὼ κατόμωσα.

The Customes used both in the Little and Great oaths too, in abjuring and fudging of crimes, were sometimes, creeping upon their hands thorough the fire, or holding in their hands a red hot Iron, (*μυσθον* they called it, such a thing as *Anaxagoras*, and his Scholler *Euripides* took the Sunne to be) supposing (as the Scholiast saies upon *Sophocles*) *τὸ μὴ ἀνόχως τὸ δάμαλῃμαλ' ἐν τέτοις μὴ ἀλγῆν*, that if they were not guilty of the crime, they should not be sensible of the pain. Thus the fellow in *Antigone* would have taken his oath to *Creon*, that he buried not *Polynices*. The like custome, we read to have been in use among the Saxon ancestors, and for the same purpose, under the name of *Fire Ordeal*. For *Emma* the Mother of King *Edward* the Confessor, passing blindfolded in the spaces between a great many red-hot Plow-shares laid on the ground: and *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the second holding a red-hot Iron in her hand, receiving no hurt thereby, cleared themselves of the crime of Adultery laid to their charge. Sometimes they took the Iron and threw it into the Sea, solemnly vowing to keep the oath without breaking, as long as the Sea should the Iron without swimming.

a Schol. Eurip. in He.

— b *μέγας τε μέντι μέγας οἷν ἄλι μυσθόν.*

b Callimach.

Sometimes (as I have known Boyes do among us) they wrote the oath in a Paper, and threw it into the water: if it swamme, and the water could endure it, he swore true; but if it sunk, and the water would not suffer it to be seen, he was to be punished immediately without more adoe. And this puts me in League with the Athenians, which the Poet saies they would have written in the hollow of a *tripus*, and the *tripus* to be sent to Delphos to *Apobo*, to be there kept for a testimony, and a memoriall.

*Μνημεῖα δ' ὄρκων, μαρτυρήματα Ἑλλάδι*  
to be produced when occasion should require. So *Achilles Tatius* (in his eighth book *de Clitophontis*, & *Leucippes amoribus*) speaks of a custome, if a Wench were accused of Whore-



Whoredome, to have her make a formall oath of deniall, and having written the oath in a table, to stand in water up to the shinnes, with the table about her neck. If she were chaste, and had sworne true, the water remained as it was : but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀργίζεται (saies he) *the very water growes angry at it, and never leaves swelling, till it goe up as high as her neck, and cover the table ; least so horrid a sight as a false oath, should look the Sun, and the World in the face.*

## CAP. VII.

## De perjurii religione.

**I**F a man-made a conscience of swearing aright, he was counted religious indeed, Insomuch that *εὐορκία*, was commonly used for *εὐσεβεία*,

a In Plut.

Οὐδέ τις εὐόρκου χάρις ἔσεται ἔτε δίκην. in *Hesiod.*

and ——— εἴ τι χάρεις εὐόρκου ἔσσις. in *Aristophanes.*

Whereas on the other side, when they expressed a very wicked man, they made use of the word *ἄπορκα* perjurious. And therefore *Aristophanes* (in *nubibus*) speaking of *Jupiters* lightnings and thunderbolts, which some said, that they did more hurt to the wicked then to others, saies he, εἴπερ βάλλει τὸν ἄπορκα, if perjured men are onely lyable to be struck, how comes it to passe that *Cleonymus* and *Theodorus* escape so well ? or that the poore Oake tree is so often hurted & γὰρ δρῦς ἀπορκαῖ since it can never be perjured. Such as were common and customary swearers, for ill making, as well as for ill keeping of oathes, were branded with the name of *Ἀρδντοῖ* from *Ἀρδντος* (saith *Hesychius*) the place where the oaths used to be administred. Now for the punishment of such vile persons, they supposed the furies every fifth day to have a visitation, and to walke the round, for no other purpose : according to that of b *Hesiod.*

b Dich.

Ἐν πεμπτῇ γὰρ φασὶν ἐείννας ἀμφιπολίειν

Ὁρκογτανυμένους ———

and

and therefore *Agamemnon* when he swore that he never had to do with *Briseis*, called the Furies to witnesse too, as well as the Earth and the Sun.

— Εὐνύες αἰδ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν

Ἀνδράπες τίνυνθ', ὅς τις κ' ἐπὶ ὄρκον ὁμώσει

Nay in some places; the insensible creatures seemed to be sensible of the sinne, and save the Furies a labour. For I have read that in a Temple at *Palice* a City in Sicily, there were certain *crateres* or *fonts*, out of which there rose sometimes flames, and sometimes hot boyling water: and that thither people used to resort from other places, for deciding of Controversies by taking an oath. For if any one swore false near these fonts, he was presently stricken blind, or lame, or dead in the place. Besides these, there were other meanes of their own appointing to affright men from perjury. Such as that of the Image of *Jupiter* Ὀρκιόθ, πάντων ὅποσα ἀρχιμαῖα δῖος εἰς ἔκπληξιν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν, which they made in the most dreadful manner of any, viz. with Thunderbolts in his hands, and a plate of brasse at his feet, on which were engraven certain Elegiacall verses, composed of purpose to terrify such as durst to invoke that god in falsehood. All this moved the *Lacedemonians* little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet said of them.

*Pausan. in Eliac.*

Οἷσιν ἔτε βωμοὶ, ἔτε πίσις ἔδ' ὄρκος μένει.

Which you will say is very likely, if you remember the saying of *Lyfander*, one of their own generalls, ἐξαπὸ τῶν χρεῖναι παῖδας μὲν ἀσεργάλοις, πολεμίους δ' ὄρκοις, fallere oportere pueros astringalis, hostes autem juramentis.



## S E C T. II.

## De Ritu Convivendi.

## CAP. I.

## De Leschis, &amp; de tempore victus capiendi.

**W**Hat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum*, (as if an Athenian were charitable, and so he died) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poore, and among his companions as *merry as a Greek*. Of the goodnesse of the Athenian natures, I can give you two or three very pregnant testimonies, whereby I shall make it appeare; how tender hearted they were, not only to men in *philanthropy*, but even to Brute Beasts. For the first you may hear it from *Demosthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into Exile (a time not so safe for such expressions) they brought going on the way, and carryed every one something under his arme, to furnish him for his journey, insomuch that at parting he cryed out Πῶς φέρειν δύνησμαι τοιαύτην ἀπολιμπάνων πόλιν ἐν τῇ τοιούτοις πυγχαίνουσιν ἐχθροῖς, οἷος ἐκ ἄλλης ἀλλαχόθι φίλους εὐρήσει. *How shall I endure to leave such a City, wherein the very enemies are as good as a man can find friends any where else?* For the last you shall have two pretty instances, as I had them from the same Author. The first is of an *Areopagite*, whom they expelled the house for killing a Sparrow, which being pursued by another bird fled into his bosome for shelter. Ως ἐκ ὄσσης δέξασα τὴν

a Phoc. ad  
1591.

saie



(saies he) as if he had not done righteous things. ἐχὲ τις ἐρέθι χά-  
 εις δ' ἰπυμῶν. ὅτι ἔπινε, not so much out of love to the  
 Sparrow, as hatred to his conditions. The last is of one *Praxi-  
 tiles*, whom for skinning of a Ram alive, they punished much  
 after the same manner, as the Ramme was ἀπὶ θυμῷ περ.  
 The goodnesse of his nature among his companions, appeared  
 either in eating and drinking, or merry talking, and dis-  
 course. For there is εὐωχὴ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, saies *Theophrastus*,  
 good cheere in words, as well as in meat and drink. *Aristo-  
 phanes* calls it φαγεῖν τὰ ῥήματα eating of words, *Plantus*, comed-  
 re sermones. And it may be they might be made sometimes to  
 eat their words indeed, if they parted so much as by all mens  
 report they did. For they were so λογοποιοῖ (as the Character  
 terms them) so employed ἐν τῷ σπεῖρειν τὸν λόγον, in disse-  
 minandis & spargendis, rumoribus; and were so much given to  
 spend their time in nothing else, but either to heare or to tell  
 some new thing, \* that I wonder with what face, they could  
 call St. Paul Σπερμολόγον. Though I know some do rather  
 chuse to fetch the word from λέγειν to gather, as the Scholi-  
 ast on *Aristoph.* interprets τὸν Σπερμολόγον to be τὸν ποιεῖ τὰ  
 ἐμπόδια καὶ τὰς ἀγροὺς διατρέχοντα καὶ τὰ ἐκ φορτίων διαπύλοντα ἀνα-  
 λεγμένους, such as watch for loose things that drop out of carri-  
 ages, and gather them up. The places where they met and dis-  
 coursed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches  
 for the better sort; or Trades-mens shops for the meaner, like  
 the Roman *Taberna*; *Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila li-  
 bellas*. Their meetings in this kind, but especially those in  
 the shops and the places themselves, and the confabulations  
 therein, they called Λέξεις μαχαλτε λέξεις saith *Euripides*. And  
 yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durst call the convention indicted  
 by the king, by the name of λέξι too. Now those shops were  
 commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb Κεῖται δὲ  
 λαλία used by *Polybius*, i. e. Barbers talke, (as we say) Lye  
 like a tooth drawer. But especially Smiths, and such as made  
 use of a Fire; being free for any that would warme them-

*Theophr.*

*Act. 17. 21.*

selves, and without any doores, as the Scholiast upon those words in *Hesiod.* 1. 2. Concerning χαλκίον δῶκον &c. τὰ παλαῖον (saies he) τὰ χαλκίᾳ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐργαστέα τὰ πῦρ ἔχοντα ἄδυγα ὡς, αὐτὸ καὶ λέγεται ἔχθρον. And to this belongs that of *Homer.*

Οὐδὲ δέλεος ἔυδεν χαλκίον εἰς δόμον ἔλθων

II. Θ. & Σ.

Ἡέπερ σὺ λέγεις.

The discourse was for the most part *de Lanâ Caprinâ* (as they called it) or *de Gerris Siculis*, childish and Idle, well befitting such *Germi figuli*, as most of them were. But the Philosophers that met in the λέγαι which *Hierocles* speaks of, had better discourse. These places were consecrated to the honour, of *Apollo*, who is therefore said to have the name of *Λαρχήβειος* (so saies *Snidas*; but it should be rather *Λαρχήβειος*, saies *Meysius*) the reason was, because such meetings were, or should be in the the day time: and sometimes in the *Sunne*.

Their merriment in eating and drinking, at a set meale amongst *themselves*, was anciently, but once a day at supper (as it was with the Romans) but afterward more often, and how often (for ought I can find by the Scholiast upon *Homer* in severall places) it is not easy to determine. Some say, there were foure meales a day, viz. 1. Ἀκράτεια or διανησιμὸς, the *Breakfast*, 2. Ἀείπον, the *Dinner*, 3. Δείπνον, the *Beaver*, 4. Δόξων, the *Supper*. Just so many *Athenians* has, but in this order, viz. 1. Ἀκράτεια. 2. Δείπνον. 3. Εσπείσια, or (*Vesperna*) 4. Δόξων. Others make but these three. 1. Ἀείπον. 2. Δείπνον. 3. Δόξων. You see that Δόξων, is the last meale still, and so it is in *Aristophanes*, who after δεσπιδὸς supper time, makes it to be presently *Bed-time*. To any of these meales if they came too late they called it παραδυνατῆϊς, or παραφωγῆν. Which they need not fear, if they had a bell to call them, as *Plutarch* saies they had in the Fish-market, and therefore termes those, whose bellies *Sympos.* c. 4. had no eares, but for the Bell, καὶ δὴν ὅξεος αἰέοντας.

In Vesp.

CAP.

## CAP. II.

*De ritibus & variis modis convivandi.*

THEIR merriment with *others*, was when they kept a feast.

And thus to spend their mony, was especially called ἀνα-  
λίσκειν, and δαπανᾶν: the merriment it selfe, by the name  
of ἀήκη. Which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* ministring to the  
gods at a feast; and from whence ἐφέθε came to be used for  
a little cup to drink healthes out of. Now a feast was of  
three <sup>b</sup> kinds, 1. Ἐσθνθ, 2. Γάμοθ, 3. Εἰλαπίνη. Ἐσθνθ, o-  
therwise called c συμβολὴ ἐπὶ κοινῆς συμβολῆς ἦγεν καὶ κατὰβολῆς καὶ  
δαπάνης πολλῶν τιμῶν, was when they joyned or clubbed for it,  
and every one brought his *Symbolam* his part, or else lay in  
his *Symbolum*, his *pawne*, or his *earnest* with the master of the  
feast. The earnest was commonly a ring, as *Terence* saies, *dati*  
*annuli, locus, tempus constitutum*. And sometimes any other  
thing: Which he that laid out the mony for the feast, if he  
were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to sell,  
or do what he would with it. The reason why it was not so  
costly, and those that were at it, did eat so sparingly, ὥς ἀν' ἰδι-  
ον ἰδιούτης d ἔχεσθ, was because every one brought his own pro-  
vender with him, and from thence they were called αὐτόδατοι  
e *Sodales*: Sometimes they call such a feasting κατὰβολον, from  
joyning as we say, or *clubbing*, or *casting* every one his *lot* into  
one purse, καλέμεν κατὰβόλια, ὅταν κοινῶς δίδωγες δαπάνῃ συ-  
ποσάζωσιν, saies *Tzetzes* upon f *Hesiod*. And so likewise some-  
times ἀπὸ πορείας θ εἴπνον, from ποιεῖν, because the charges  
came scattered, or *scorn* by severall hands, which is resem-  
bled very well by the *Sportula* instituted by *Nero*. Lastly  
ὁ θιάσος (they say) has been used for the same, θιαπῶται for the  
company.

a Schol. in A-  
rist. Vesp.

b Eustathius;  
in Hom.

c Aristoph. &  
Schol.

d x. *ibid.*

e *Festus*.

f L. 2.]

Athen. l. 8.

Of this way of Feasting, you have a briefe and large com-  
mendation in *Hesiod*.



Μηδὲ παυξέινε δαΐδες δ' ἀπὸ μφελῶ (ἦ)

Ἐκ κοινῆ πλείη ὃ χέεις δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίστη.

Be not averse from common feasts ; for there  
The charge the least is, and the most the cheere.

Sometimes you should have a Covetous fellow make his γάμον, his very *wedding dinner*, in the manner of an ἑσπέρη : and every one that comes must bring his part with him, and be δίκος ἡ, (as *Plutarch* calls the Souldier *that goes a warfare at his own cost*.) This kind of feasting (I think) may very well be named πανδαίσια, for \* *that* is either when there is meate of all sorts, or when it is brought to every man, or when they sit highly pigly, and every one takes where he likes. Εἰλασίη (for of γάμος we have spoken already) used to be a little more costly πολυτελής. It was thus called either, 1. From λάπτειν the *lapping and tipling* in it, or, 2. From their gathering together, or sitting in *companies* ; ὅτι καὶ εἰλας, ἢ ὅμῃ εἰλέμενοι ἐπιγόν, or, 3. From εἰλαι, the *vertigines* or *rounds* used in dances \* *ἐν ποσὶ εἰλαι*. The company at such a feast were called εἰλαπνεαταί. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poor Women were left by themselves alone in the γυναικωνίπιδες, unlesse it were to accompany some of their very near friends : according to that of *Cornelius Nepos*, in the beginning of his Book : *Nam neque in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorum, neq. sedet nisi in interiore parte adium, qua gynacomitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.* The usuall customes in feasting were these. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certain officers, appointed for the purpose to discommon them : And to them the Cooks were to reparaire, to be examined concerning the same. Besides those Officers, there was an οἰνόπτης too, to see how oft, and how much every one drank. And if it appeared that a man was any way δολῶ or intemperate ; he was to be punished by the *Areopagus*. Which perhaps gave occasion to the Drunken unthrifts of those times, to call the Greeks μικροεπίτες, and

a In Crass.

\* Schol. in Ari-  
stoph. Pace.

\* Pindar.

and *φυλντρωτας*, as if they were niggardly in their diet. But if they were indeed such bite-figures, and cummin-cutters, as they make them, how came it to passe that *Cookery* was so much in request among them; (*συνὸν καὶ ἡ μαγειρικὴ*, it is an honourable profession saies *Athenæus*) or that the skill in Physick, Astronomy, and Geometry, was thought so requisite to that art: or that in ancient time, the Cook should be one of the chief officers at a Sacrifice, as they say he was? the last indeed, was very convenient, since a Sacrifice and a feast so well agreed that commonly either the latter followed the former, or instead of invitations they sent their friends a piece of the victime.

— καὶ τὸ δ' ἔσται

*Tais Nymphais. Morsowi kalon chreas antipa pempton.*

—as soon as you

To the Nymphs have offer'd, give to *Morson* too.

### C A P. III.

*De more salutandi, Symposiarcha, Coronis, unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de mensis.*

**W**Hen the guests were come, the manner of salutation for little boyes (if any came) was to take them by the eares, as one would take a *pot*, and kisse them; and such a kisse as this they called *χῦτρα a pot*. The fashion of kissing the lips was but of latter daies, and *osculum* may be *osculum* upon any thing so it be from the *mouth*. Anciently they used to lay their mouth upon the eyes, and sometimes upon the head, or the shoulder, or the neck like the Jewes. Sometimes they went no higher then the hand, with an embracing of the body: as *Xuthus* desired to do to *Ion*.

*Pollux. l. 9. c. 24.*

*ὅς τις χεῖρας φίλημαί μοι σῆς, σωματός τ' ἀμφὶ πύχας.*

*Eurip. Ion. v. 578.*

Embracing was the most usuall salutation. Inſomuch that (if you will believe the \* Scholy) the word *ἀσπασαίνω* used to signify to *Salute*, does properly signify to *embrace*, as being derived

+ On *Aristoph.* *Plut.*

derived (saies he) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγαν ἀσπιδος εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἢ ἔπειρον. The compellation to such as they respected was usually *ἥμιε*, *vir honeste*, *worthy Sir*, rather then κύριε, *Domine*, or *Master*.

Eurip. in  
Suppl.

—ὅς ἐβουχέσσει ἡμῖν ὁ γράζει.

Till the meat came up, the Guests spent their time, in observing and commending the conveniences of the house, and the household stufte, and the like, according to *his* instructions in a *Aristophanes*.

a Vesp.

Ἐπει τ' ἐπαίνουσιν τε τῷ χαλκωμάτων

Ὁρθρῶ δάσσει —

b Pollux, l. 2.  
c. 1.

The δειπνοκλήτωρ, the Master of the house, shall I say, or the Master of the Feast? or rather the *founder* of the feast; (for Συμποσίαρχος the Master, was many times no more then a Master-Steward, or b συμποσίε δπημελητής the Caterer chosen by a company at a Collocation) presently had his χαμῆϊδον brought him in by the Cook i. e. a *note* containing the severall sorts of dishes which they were to expect. Now in some feasts, to carouse it (according to the manner of the Roman *Modiperator*, and the fashion yet in use in Italy, and among us on *Twelfth-day*) they threw lots who should be βασιλεὺς *King*: and he to whose lot it fell, was to have the whole command of all, for matter of drinking, or ceremonies, without any restraint. Which sometimes proved too *tyrannicall*: as it did in him in *Diog. Laertius*, who commanded a fellow πίνειν ἢ χαπαχεῖν ἢ κεφαλῆς to *take the drink in his mouth*, or *have it flung in his face*.

C. 8.

c Athenæus.  
DN

All the while that the feast lasted, they kept burning of Frankincence and Myrrhe upon the hearth. Either that the sence of smelling too, might have a *tast* of the myrrh, (εὐωδίαν ἔστιαν for c *smell-feast*) or else to stop the mouthes, and the *angry noses* of the gods to whom, before they eat any thing themselves, they used to offer a tast of the best of every dish. But how they did it I know not, unlesse they threw it in the fire as *Patroclus* did.

—ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε θυηλάς.

The



The Guests before they sat down, used to Crown their heads with Garlands, made for the most part of Myrtle, for so I remember the bold guest in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drink. — *ἑρπετὶ κροτά μύρτιναις κλάδοις.* bound his head with *Myrtle-boughs* to secure it from a king, and the Romans it seems agree with them herein, for saies *Horace*, when he went to be too merry,

*Nunc decet aut viridi caput impedire myrto,*

The use of these Garlands, was to coole the head, and so to restrain the heat of the Wine. Neither did they crown their heads only, but anoint them too, as if he had been going to wrestle with the strength of the liquor: for so saies he in *Ve-*  
*spis* — *γυμναστικῶς*

*Ἵγρὸν χύτλασεν σιαυτὸν.*

Ovid and the Romans knew of this too it seems.

— *habent uncta mollia fersa comæ.*

Using it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours from coming altogether; or to open the pores, and let them out as soon as they came. For the same end was it, that the herb *crambe* was so much used in their feasts, as it was also among the *Ægyptians*; and very likely it is to have a virtue that way, in regard of the antipathy said to be in the nature of it, to the nature of the Vine, so great, that it will not endure to grow near it; which antipathy (say they) has been in it, ever since \* *Lycurgus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting down all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkenness, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twigges, to be thrown into the Sea, in crying, let drop a teare upon the ground, out of which teare presently sprung the *crambe*. so called quasi *κροτάμω*, from *κρότα*, or *Pupille* the *Apples*, or the *Babies* (as we say) in the eyes, to which it is thought to be hurtfull.

Besides anointing, there was washing too, both before and after meat, that before, had a peculiar name of *ὑδαρὶ χυτῶς*: the other they call *ὑπὸνίψαρις*.

P p

Their

*καταχύζοντες τὸ κροτάμω.* Saies the Scholiast upon *Aristoph. in Avib.*

\* *χω.* On *Aristoph. in Equit. Act. 1. Sc. 3.*

а ПоИ.1.6.с 2.

b Aristoph. in  
Eq.

• Their *posture* at eating, was lying upon *xiſa* beds (imitated by the Roman *lecti*) with a *flaſc* a *mat* a close by, which had bed clothes and all to sleep upon. Those *xiſa*, were usually covered with skinn<sup>s</sup>: according to that in the b Poet of one that lay snorting upon a full belly.

ῥέγχει μέδυν ἐν ταῖσι βύρσοις ὕπνι.Θ.

c. 11. 10.

And sometimes with Tapiftry, for the better fort: for with such *Achilles* his Embaffadours are entertained in c *Homer*,

—— τάπησί τε πορφυρεοῖσι

## The manner

of lying was on their sides, and leaning upon their elbowes. and therefore *Silenus*, in *Euripides*, bids *Cyclops* (when they sat at meat upon the ground) *Θῆς ὁ πρὸ ἀγκῶνα ἐγυῖσθαι*, to place his elbow handsomely. They rested their feet upon a *σπῆ-  
rus*, or a foot-stoole: such a one as *Juno* would bestow upon *Som-  
nus* for the same use.

Τῷ κτ' ὀπιχείης λε παρὰς πόδας εἰλαπινάζων.

EP. 57.

ದ ಡಿ. ಪ್ರೊ. ಶಾ.  
Sd/- 2,

And yet I remember one in the Poets *Vespa*, asking how he should sit, was bid γόβας ἐκείνους, to stretch out his knees. The table was ordinarily *Tripus*. Unless the man were of a higher stomach, then he that said, *Sit mihi mensa tripes*: for then it might be of another fashion. But usually it was made with three legs, and an ἐμπνυα upon it, called ἄλμυ (in imitation of the *Tripus* at *Delphos*) to be taken off, and set on, as they had occasion. Of what fashion soever it was, they used to reverence it with a great deal of religion: so as not to have any uncivill or prophane or immodest discourse, as long as they sat at it. For why (saies *Synesius*) it is holy and consecrated to *Jupiter* οἶλε, and ἔλμυ. Which gave occasion to that expression of *Demosthenes* πῦρ δ' ἄλμυ τρεῖς αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς; And to *Juvenal's* *reverentia mensae*. The first that ever dared to profane the table, were the Women that killed *Terens* his son, and served him up in the dish.

*Paul in Phocb.*

CAP

CAP. IV.

De Cibo & Potu.

THE Greeks (they say) in ancient times, as well as other people, were contented with Masts and Acornes: for their bread at least, if not for their Meat. And there were *βαλανισται*, people employed of purpose to gather them. There was no *cereale solum*, in those dayes, no fear of *mensas consumimus*. It was enough for the luxury of later dayes, to make *paniceas mensas*, tables or trenchers of bread. In allusion to the use of this food \* *A. Gellius* saies that the Romans made their *civica corona* of Oaken boughs, *quoniam cibus victusq; antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit*. In remembrance of their oaken diet. After mast, they lookt lower and found better food in barley. For that kind of corne was the first in use. Afterward, when fine Wheat, and teerh came up; it was made a punishment to use it, as *b Suetonius* saies, *decimatas hordeo pavit*. Their way of using corne at first, before that Mills came up (*ἁμύλοι*, said to be first invented by *Mylas*) was to rost it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth: and then *pinsere* to beat it, and *knead* it into hard lumps or loaves. Those that did this, the Romans called *pinfores*, which afterwards came to *piniflores*, bakers. We read of *ἡψ* parched stufte among the Israelites too, even there where we read of flower, and so it was not for need that they used it. In time it came to varieties: and I also might say a great deale concerning them; as likewise of their usuall dishes at feasts, both of fish and flesh. But you may have enough in *Athenæus* with little painc, and lesse profit. Only I desire to observe one thing, that of all the parts of a beatt, the braine might by no meanes be seen upon a table. For they toyled to eat it, as much as a *Pythagorean* could to eate a beane: and thought that none but he that had lost his senses; would offer to devoure that, from

Virg. Æn.

L. 5. c. 6.

a Artemidor.

l. 1. c. 71.

b In Aug. c. 24.

Serv. ad Æn.

1.

2 Sam. c. 17.

v. 38.



In Trachin.

which all the *sences* had their *life*. Nay ἐγκέφαλον the *braine* might not be in their mouths to *speake* it, as well as to *eate* it. And therefore *Sophocles*, when he speaks of *Lichas* his throwing from the rock into the sea, and dashing out his braines, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the braine *white marrow of his head*.

Κόμης ὃ λεκόν μυελόν ἐκράναι μέσῃ.

Κρατὶς —

*Hecuba* in *Euripides* speaking of *Astyanax* his throwing down from the tower by the Greeks, relates it after the same manner, calling it ὅστιον βαλόντων φόνον, adding withall ἢν αἰσθῶ μὴ λέγω *with reverence be it spoken*.

But as for the Entralls, αἰσῶντες, no dish so common as that: insomuch that you should have some covetous fellows make a feast of nothing else. Such a feast they called more peculiarly ἔλειον, or μαγεικὸν τραπέζιον. The meat was served up in dishes of wood: or of brasse (for the better sort) and every ones portion at his place.

\* L. 15.

The *drinke*, which they had at feasts during meale time, was usually wine mingled with water to allay the strength of it. And this mixture they say was the invention of *Amphyelion* (him whom they report to have first instituted the meeting of the seven Cities called *Concilium Amphyelionicum*) but I have another story for you from \* *Athenaus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Physitian, and it is this. When *Bacchus* first brought his Vines from the *Red-sea* into *Greece*; the people came presently flocking to the Sea side, and fell so immoderately to the liquor, that some became dead-drunk, and some raving mad. Others that came later, being driven away by a sudden tempestuous showre, when they returned againe, found some of the raine mingled with the Wine, which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, αἰσινῇ ἢ ἄλκυον ἔχον ἀπόλαυσιν, notwithstanding found no such effects as the former did, but continued sober. This (they say) is the reason that at the first bringing in of the κεκρασμένον, or mixed.

mixed wine, to the table, they used to remember *Δία Σωτήρα*, *Jupiter* the founder of the raine, and the mixture. To which they added the health called *Διὸς Ολυμπίου*, if the feast were a victors feast; and *Ὠγαίου γάμου*, if it were at a Wedding: altering the name of the health, according to the occasion of the feast. And yet *Sophocles* seems to make the third round to be to *Jupiter Servator*

— καὶ Διὸς σωτήρος

Σπονδὴν τεῖτε κρατῆρος.

Presently after meale came in *ἄκρατον* the Wine *in puris naturalibus*, whereof (it may be) *πρόπομα*, *promulsis*, or *gustatio*, the first tast before they went to eating used to be. The great Crater being filled, the *Symposiarch* began a health, either to the good genius (to whom they meant to indulge) or to the goodly god that invented the liquor. This health is called *Poculum* not *Charitatis*, but *ἀγαθῆς δαίμονος*: and so to drinke it *ἐμπροσθεὶν ἀγαθῆς δαίμονος*, making it a religious businesse, as if it were a Libation or a drink offering, as he saies *Σπονδὴν ἁδὲς, καὶ σπείσιν ἀγαθῆς δαίμονος*. And many times they prayed too, crying out *ὦ δαίμων ἀγαθὲ*. Some say, this health was at the beginning of the feast. But they did but sip at it, and therefore *Hesychius* interprets *ἀγαθοδαίμωνισαί* for *ὀλιγοποπσαί*, little drinkers, The last health of all, which they dranke just as they went to bed, was to *Mercury*, as to the god of sleeping and dreames

*Aristoph. in Eq.*

\* *In Vesp.*

— Ἀργειφόντη

Οἱ πῦμάτω ἀνένδεστον.

for that was the reason (saies *Athenæus*) *δοκεῖ γὰρ Ἑρμῆς ὕπνου προστάτης εἶναι*. Yet some say it was *Διὸς τελείου. Ἀσκάς*, the bottle or vessell out of which they filled the Wine, was usually made of the skinne of a Boare. And therefore in *Lysistrata* (*Aristophanis*) it is called by the name of *Κάσπερος*, and the Wine *αἷμα* blood, and the powring it out *σφαγία* slaughter, as if the Goat were a killing but then.

When one friend drank to another, they called it *φιλαΐησιον*, or *φιλοποσίαν* a cup of good friendship: and such kind of expressions *ἀξιώσεις*, takings, or pledgings: according to that

ἔστιν

— χευστοῖς δὲ πᾶσι  
 δίδωται ἄλλῃλως —

And thus if a great man kept the feast, when he dranke to his favourites, he gave him the cup to keep. But if he dranke a health to one whom he loved (ἑταίρῳ or φίλῳ, his friend or his *Carumite*) he drank part himself, and bestowed the rest upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would sit up drinking for a wager all the night, and he that could keep himself waking till morning, had a *πυραμῖς*, a cake made of flower and hony for his labour, Just as the women use to have in the *Thesmophoria*. In such mad fits as these, they were wont to have *γέλους* riddles proposed: which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup. And if any one were weary, he might not depart unlesse he had leave, (perhaps it was unlesse he *took* his leave) of the Master of the feast. And here I might easily speake enough of their *κῆλας*, but I think a little is sufficient, and that I have done already.

Now the cups wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Bulls horns, ἐν τοῖς κέρασι, saies the Scholiast upon *Nicanor*, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ κέρατος. Insomuch that the word *κέρατος*, to fill drink, seemed to be derived from *κέρατα* these *hornes*. Scilicet. Hence it was that they used to picture *Bacchus* with *Bull-hornes*. Nay the *Argivi* made his picture *all* Bull, which occasioned some to call him down-right by the name of *Taurus* a Bull. And the reason of those phancies was (saies the Scholiast) διὰ τὸ ταυρωσικὸν ἢ πινόντων, ὅτε τέστι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου ἰσχυρὰ for the strange (saies he) or rather the *Bull-wood* carriage of those that use his liquor. But the best is, *dat Deus immitti cornua curia bovi*. Afterward they grew weary of hornes, and came to their cannes, which they seem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his sake too, no question, to whom the wood be-

*Eurip. Alc. v. longs*  
 756.

Ποτῆρα δ' ἐν χεῖρεσσι κίοντον λαβῶν.



C A P. V.

*De iis qua à discumbentibus fieri solebant.*

**F**OR their behaviour at table, spitting and coughing, and speaking loud, was counted uncivill in any, but a Gentleman (as we say in the University, that nothing is fresh in a Senior) and to him it was a glory *ἀν μακρὰ πύρ*, saies *Stobæus*, to spit stoutly, or as *Quintilian* calls it, *clare excreare*; as it is among us for great men to sit and eat carelessly. But paring of nailes was such a sordid thing, that no gentility could beare it out. *Hesiod* (as tis thought) long since abominated the incivility, or what shall I call it, to hit his meaning.

*Μὴδ' ἀπὸ πυγίχοιο θεῶν ἐνὶ δαυτὶ θαλεῖν*

*Ἀδὸν ἀπὸ κλωρεῦ τέμνειν αἰδῶνι σιδήρῳ*

Nor from the *five-branc'd-greene* do with a knife

At feasting cut the *witberd* for thy life.

Their attendance wes, every one his *παῖς*, or his *Pedee*, to whom they used to deliver *τὰ ἀπορορητὰ*, choice bits, or such dainties as they liked best, to keep, or to carry home with them: but I must confesse it was counted somewhat *base*: and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very *high* feast indeed, and *open* house. Those boyes or servants were commonly *Black moores*; after the fashion of the Romans,

— *tibi pocula cursor*

*Getulus dabit, aut nigri manus ossa Mauri.*

Your *meedes portions*, which we read of, were another thing: as a piece of the *Victime* at a Sacrifice, or a part of the choicest dishes at a feast, sent by all the company in a publick manner to friends that were absent. For such *Plutarch* reports to have been sent to *Aratus* by King *Antigonus*, when he Sacrificed at *Corinth*: and *Aristophanes* (in his *Acharnanes*) by the Bride at a Wedding.

*Ἐπιμύθε τις σοὶ θυμῷ τῶντι χρεῖα*

*Ἐκ τ' ἰάμων.*

And

1 Sam. x. 4.

2 Nehem. c.  
8. 19.

And indeed not only the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jewes too, are to be commended for remembring their friends in this kind: for the Jewes both at Sacrifices (as \* *Elikanah* did to his Wife,) and also at feasts (as those were bid to do by 2 *Nehemiah*) used to send מנות portions to them, for whom nothing was prepared. When they had greased their fingers, they would take a piece of soft bread, and rub them with it, and throw it to the doggs, and from thence came the proverb *tangquam canis vivens e magdaliâ*, or rather (if you will) *apomagdalia*, for so they called such a piece of bread from ἀπομαγειν to wipe; such a think as their Cooks σῆς or χειρόμακτρον, a piece of *course bread*, which they had for the same use.

6 or ἐπαίλλα

c Coronas  
Convivii.

The desert consisted of nuts and fruit, and all sorts of junkets. they called this service, by the severall names of βῆσαιλλα, τραγάσματα, ἐπιφορήματα, ἐπιτραπέζια, ἐπιδόρπια, μεταδόρπια, Ἐpidorpie mensæ. And now to crowne all with dauncing and musick, which *Homer* calls ἐναθνήματα δαιτὸς, (usually accompanied with ἀρχομήματα, merry songs, and tales) because they themselves spent most time in practising it, I shall be bold to spend a little the more in relating it.

## CAP. VI.

*De cantu Convivali & Scoliis.*

Odyss. I.

**A**lthough *Socrates* in *Plato's Protagoras*, speake against the use of Musick at a Feast: and *Enripides* say, it were better used at a Funerall, to make the Mourners merry: yet you shall find *Xenophon* himself (in himselfe) commending, and *Pheinius* (in *Homer*) practising the same. Now the custome was when they came to the dauncing and the Musick (whereas at Meale-time lesse cupps would serve) then to have greater, and a fresh bowle (κρατήρ) to begin with, for such a one they had at every change, if they observed that fashion we read of in *Enripides*.

ἔπει

Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱς αὐλὴς ἦεν ἐς κρατῆρά τε  
 Καινὸν, γέρον ἔλεξεν, ἀφ' αὐτοῦ χρεῶν  
 Διηγεῖσθαι σέθεν σμικρὰ, μαγαλὰτ' εἰσφέρειν.

In Ion. v.

1177.

The song most common among them was *Harmodius*: so called (just as *Hymeneus* is from a man of the same name, and as we call our songs *Chloris* and the like) because it was sung to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Aristogeiton*, the two famous *Tyrannicides*, that put an end to the tyranny of the *Pisistratide*, by putting *Hipparchus* to death: and of whom it is reported that the strumpet *Leana* (as *beastly* a name as *Lupa*) so faithfully loved their bodies, that when she was racked by the Tyrant, to discover their conspiracies, she bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and spit in his face. The beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, Φίλτατε Ἀρμόδιε, ἔτι περὶ δὴν καὶ, &c. You have mention of it in *Aristophanes* his *Acharnenses*, and his *Vespa*. Sometimes they would have up *Admetus*, or a song to the praise of *Admetus*, (for most of their songs, as well as those of the *Romans*, tended to the praise of one famous worthy or other.) It began thus, Ἀδ-μήτε λόγον ὃ ἐταῖρε μαθὼν, πῶς ἀγαθὸς εἴλη, ὅς δ' ἀνδρῶν δ' ἀπὶ χεῖρας &c. where you may observe the opposing ἀγαθὸς to ἀνδρῶν. For so you shall find κακός, commonly for a Coward in Heathen writers, who reckoned *virtutem* (as they called it) *valour* and *fortitude*, the only *virtue* worthy the name. Besides these two which I have named, you shall find a great many more such in Authours, under the name of Σκόλια. I will only give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes*, against riches.

Ὀφείλες ὃ τυφλὲ πᾶσι  
 Μήτ' ἐν γῇ μήτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ μήτ' ἐν Ἡερίῳ  
 Φανήμεναι  
 Ἀλλὰ τὰς ταρῶν τε ναίων κ' ἀχάροντα  
 Διασέγῃ πάντ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακόν.

Vid. x. in  
 Aristoph.  
 Ran.

Those kind of songs which they called Σκόλια, were first invented by one \* *Terpander*. They were so called either first \* *Plutarch. de*



διὰ τὴν δέσιν καὶ κλίωσιν αὐτῶν (saies the Scholast upon *Rane*,) from the crooked placing of the beds, and the lying of the guests upon them. Or else 2. (as the Scholy saies upon the same Poet in *Vespis*) from the flexuous disorderly manner in the singing. For there were in use among the Greeks (saies

\* Scholast. in *Ran*.

\* *Dicæarchus* δὲ μυσικῶν ἁγίων) three waies of singing songs at such meetings, the first καὶ πάντων, by all together. the 2. καὶ ἕνα, by one after another in order as they fate, the 3. one after another, but ἑναδά, not in order, and καὶ οὐκ ἑναδά, either by such as had best skill, or by such as he that sung last, should please to chuse. I say to chuse; for in singing a *Scholium*, as tis properly used, this was the custome. He that *Scholied* first, took him a Mistle rod, called αἰσά from αἶα and ἄχων, & holding it in his hand like a *thyrsus*, (for all the devotion now was to *Bacchus* and to *Venus*,) begun in any place of *Simonides*, or *Stesichorus*, or *Æschylus*, where he had a mind, and continued as long as he pleased. The verses which they sung, they called by the name of παρὰ δα, or παρὰ δαδία, or σφάδία, from the σφῆς, or the rods, as being ἀπαυρίσ, in the words of *Apuleius*. When he had done, he delivered his bough to whom he thought fit: and he to whom the bough was delivered, was to go on where the tother left off: and thus it went round till all had done. And then he that was judged by the company to come off best, and have capt the rest, had his αἰσά (as they called it) i. e. a cup, or some such thing for his reward. Unless they sung some of *Homer's* verses, for then both the bough was *Lawrell*, and the prize a *Lamb*, from whence they were called αἰσάδαι as well as *Homeristæ*. Others say it was the custome presently after taking away, to have a harp to go from one to another, and every one as he was best able, or as his mind gave him, to sing to the Harp, with a bough in his hand besides. A third reason of the name is given by *Orus* (a Grammarian:) viz. because the eye, and the understanding of those that sung were by over-strong drinke become αἰσάδαι, or ἀνεπαρτήτοις distorted

*Eustath. II. 1.*

α. *Aristoph.*  
in *Nub.*

distorted, as they are in Mad-men (*δαιμονίων ὁρῶν, & ἐν δαίμονι φρεσίν*, right eyes, and a right mind, are put a together in the Poet.)

4. The song was called *Σκόλιον*, (saies the Scholiast) by the Figure *Antiphrasis*, because it was least difficult of any, and μέλῳ ὀλιγόστιχον, consisting of a few staves. But this etymology in another place of the same book is utterly disliked, τὰ ὅσα δύσφωνα ὄντι τὸ εὐφημώτερον παρακαλεῖται, ὡς τὸ ῥῆμα παῖς, because that Figure *Antiphrasis*, is always by way of Euphemy, to give a bad thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name. Origen (they say) wrote a Poem, wherein he briefly comprized all such things, as seemed to be intricate and perplexe, and gave it the title of *Scolia*. c Pericles is said to have made his Lawes, in the manner of *Scolies*. I think not for any obscurity in the meaning, but Poetry in the making.

Τὸ Σκόλιον, is not opposed (what ever it may seeme to be) to that which they call τὸ ὁρῶν μέλῳ (which might be sung by one alone, whereas the *Scolies* could not) so called, not because it was sung right along, and in order: but either because the persons sung ὁρῶν, that is, (as *Snidas* expounds it) ἀλλὰ ὁ ἐρετὰ ὡς ὁ βοῶν, with a long blast, (like the trumpet in Judges c. 7. 5.) or because it was sung ἔν τῳ ὁρῶν, which I know not what way it was, but that *Herodotus* saies *Arion* plaid after that way upon the ship, and *Enstathius* and *Snidas*, say that *Timotheus* playing after that manner to *Alexander* τοῦτον ἄρεθον ἔδιδον &c. So moved his spirit, that he lept immediately to his armes and took them up to fight. Instead of *Scolies*, sometimes you should have whole *Comedies* acted, and then none so soon as *Menander's*.

But amidst all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeableness and uncertainty of their conditions, (for this they say was the use as they made of them) they had their σφαῖραι, oscilla, or officula, like those which they use at Rome at the feast *Sigillaria*, or such as d Augustus is said to have plaid with (talus aut officulis ludebat cum pueris) things so artificially made with joynts and pins, that in so many throwes

a *Sophia Oed.*  
Tyr.  
b In *Ranis*.

a x. *Arist. in Rav.*

Suet. c. 8. 37

they would yeeld you a thousand shapes, or *mouthes*, or *faces*. *Petronius* having at a certain feast, thrown those things on the table, presently cryed out upon mortality, but with an ill intent, *viz.* to be merry therefore while he might.

*Hæu, hæu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est?*

*Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet ortus.*

*Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene.*

Herod. l. 2.

And just so the Egyptians us'd at feasts, to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin: for he that brought him in, bid every one *πίε καὶ πίνε, ὅτι ὁ Σοδαρὼν τοῦτος*, to eat and drink, for to morrow he should die.

## C A P. VII.

### De Peregrinis excipiendis.

\* In Helen.

**A** Stranger, whether you take it for a *Guest* or for an *Alien*, so it were not a *god*, was alwaies had in so religious esteem at *Athens*, ὡς ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐναγυῆν δοκεῖν αὐτὸν δεῖν ἀνταλάσσειν καὶ ξένον, that (as the Scholie saith upon \* *Euripides*) if any one wronged a stranger, he was lookt upon as a profane cursed fellow: according to the Poet himself in another \* place.

— Let go the strangers hands,

Which being sacred may not be in bands.

In Taur. v.  
468.

And good reason, for — ὅτις ὁ δῖος εἰς τὴν ἀπαντὴν

Ξένου, — all strangers have *Jupiters* own Letters of protection: and therefore no *dolus* so *malus*, as *Ξεναπάτη*. Now

\* L. 10. Fab. 6.

*Ζεὺς ξένου*, or *Ἰουξένου*, you may call him *Jupiter hospes*: for \* *Ovid* in his *Metamorphosis* speaks of *Jovis hospitii Ara* an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the unhospitall people, for their brutish inhumanity, are said to have been turn'd into *Cerastras*, bullocks. *Jupiter Xenius* as much as he was for the strangers, was notwithstanding better known and honoured then any of the *Jupiters* besides, according to that of *Plutarch*, *Ξένου δῖος πολλὰ καὶ*



ἐμεγαλυν, as if he had cared more for them than other people.

*Jupiter hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur.*

*Virg. Æn. 1.*

I remember indeed once to shew how well he was pleased with that virtue of hospitality, being in his travells in *Phrygia* with *Mercury* lovingly entertained by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body else would receive him, in requitall thereof, he preserved the house from the Earth-quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly, In obedience to the Laws of the City, which expressly commanded them τὸ ξένος μὴ ἀδικεῖν, not to wrong a stranger. And this made *Aristippus*, upon *Socrates* his information, presently to remove to *Athens* and dwell there. Nay saies *Tully* *Execrationibus publicis sancitum est &c.* (speaking of refusall to shew a stranger the way) that command was enforced with the penalty of publique execrations.

*Xenoph. 1. 3.*

*Ἀπομν.*

*L. de Offic.*

If a stranger had received any wrong (because they might not be so familiar as to do it themselves) there were ἀποσάται, allowed of purpose to plead for them, as well as ἐπίξενοι to entertain them. Unlesse you will say that these last officers were not for ξένοι, that is *hospites*, such as tarried a while and away: but for ξένοι, that is *μειτοιχοι*, *inquilini*, such as set up their habitation in the place where they came. For those were made to pay their μίσθιον, an yearly rent to the City, the men twelve, and the Women \* six Drachmes: which if they did not pay, they sold them, and put them into the ships for gally slaves, as not reckoning them cleane corne, and true Citizens, any more then \* *Aristotle*; but only (in the words of *Aristophanes*) ἀλυσσάμενοι ἀσπί, the out-casts and chaffe, and no more. Even the *Cretians* themselves (as evill beasts as they were) seem to have had humanity enough in this respect. Otherwise what meant their ξενικά τραπέζαι, two distinct Tables, and a Chamber kept a purpose for strangers? The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, so much valued the hospitality shewed by *Antenor* to *Meneleus*, as to spare his house alone.

\* *Isam contr. Elpapor.*

\* *L. 3. Polit.*

*Athenaus.*

I must confesse indeed the *Lacedemonians* heare but ill for their *Ξηνασία*, and *Lycurgus* his Law against admittance of strangers, but upon certain dayes; and their dealing deceitfully with them then too. Which made the Poet (even in *Pace*) brand them with the name of *διεργονέξενον*. Nay it is said how that they never made any *κισσρηπύς*, (as they called it) free of their City, but only two, viz. *Iisamenus* the Poet, and his brother *Hegias*. But still I hope, their *ξένοι* strangers, were all one with *οἱ βάρβαροι* Barbarians, for whom the word is often used, saies *Herodotus*, and the Scholiast upon *Homer*. For else certainly *Plato* would never have given such commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the nature of (as we usually take it) *policy* as it is inconsistent with the name of *πολιτεία*, to care most for ones private good.

## CAP. VIII.

*De hospitibus excipiendis.*

**I**F the Athenians were so kind *πῶς ξένους*, to every stranger, properly so called: what were they (think you) *πῶς ἰδιοξένοισι*, to their own strangers (as we use to call it) or to their sworn guests? Those had their *ἀσφάλαν*, or *σύμβολον*, or *tesseram hospitii*, something or other like a ticket, to shew for their quarter when they came: such as *Jason* in courtesy offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exilement.

*Ξένοισι το πῶς πᾶσι σύμβολ' οἱ δ' ἐξόνσι σ' εἶ.*

So farre were the *ξενόδοχοι*, those that entertained guests (you may call them *ξένοι* too, for it is a name for both, like *hospes*, perhaps to shew their near relation) from so much as suspecting a returne of hatred for kindnesse, that it cost *Dionysius* no lesse then his life. Who though he were forwarned of an intention of *Callippus* his guest to murder him, took no care to avoid him, *αἰχμηδὲς*, being asstrained (saies *Plutarch* in his chapter *de Vitioso pudore*) *φυλάττειν φέλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον*, to be-  
ware

more of one that was his friend and guest too (as if that were more.)

The manner of entertaining a stranger was this. As soon as euer they saw him, a δειπνον ἐπαγγέλλοντο πρὸς αὐτόν, the first care a Pindar. they had, was to have somewhat for him to eat. Egre-  
 dien-tem illico ἐκ ναυὶ adduxit ad cœnam, saies b Terence. When he came to the doore (as some say) they both joyned b In Heaut.  
 feet on the threshold, and there mutually engaged themselves to be true and trusty. Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur ve-  
 niebant ad hospitium, & ponebant pedem in eo, & confirmabant quod unus non deciperet alium. And therefore hospes is said to be de-  
 rived from hospitium, or ostium a doore, and pes a foot. When he  
 came in, they called for the Strangers bottle (as he saies in c E-  
 lectra, ἀσπὸν ἐν φέρω ξένου) and drank to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they asked his name (saith Athenæus,) ὡς τὴν ξενί-  
 ᾱν αὐτῷ τιμῶντες, ἀλλ' ὃ τὸ ἐν μέλει, as giving him honour, because  
 he was a stranger, not because he was this or that particular man. Now they used Wine, rather then any other liquor (saies the  
 same Author) because they took it to be, ἀλκυσιχόν τι πρὸς φιλίαν, Idem.  
 πρὸς δειπναῖον τὴν ψυχὴν &c. Powerfull to warme the affection too, Ibid.  
 as well as the stomach.

The next thing they presented him with, was Salt: inti-  
 mating their friendship must be so seasoned with good carri-  
 age, as it might keep long and sweet. All the time of his  
 being in the house, this respect he had. They made their  
 own daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the  
 like: nay, and to bring him Water in a Basin, and wash his  
 feet with their own hands. As may be proved by severall pla-  
 ces in Homer both observed and approved by Athenæus, who  
 makes it to be an ancient custome τοῖσι Ὀμπῶν καὶ τῆς ἀδελ-  
 φῆς γυναικὸς λυέσας τὸν ξένου: ἀρραῖον δ' ἔστω ἰδοῦ (saith  
 he) 2. They allotted ξενίται, Chambers a part from the rest,  
 of purpose for strangers. Which puts me in mind of Admetus  
 in the 4 Poets. Alastis, who when Hercules coming to his  
 house in a time of Mourning & a thing accounted αἶψον, so  
 unfit dV. 545.



was fit to be seen by the sacred eyes of a stranger (as he there saies) was therefore about to be gone againe, replied; no such need, good Hercules, notwithstanding the mourning in the house.

Χωρὲς ξενῶνες εἰσὶν, δὲς σ' εἰσάξουσιν

For we have

Chambers on the other side of the house which we keep only for strangers, and you shall be there.

3ly, When they sate at Meales, they had a table also to themselves: as may be conjectured by that which Orestes had at his being at Athens.

Enrip. Elefir.  
v. 849.

— ξένια μογοῦσ' ἀπὸ ζῆλ' μοι

Πάρεχον οἶκον. —

Lastly they had τὰς κεφαλὰς places allowed them at the shewes, instituted by Sphyromachus. Therefore to returne respect againe to the people of the house: as at his coming into the Country, he ought to do reverence and Sacrifice to the Genius of the place, saluting the ground with a kisse.

Cadmus agit grates, peregrina q̄ oscula terra

Fecit, & ignotos montes, agrosq̄ salutar.

Ovid. Met. l. 3.

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to do Divine service, τοῖς ἐμχωρῶσι θεοῖς unto their gods especially, or the gods of the place: as Alexander did at his being at Troy: and as they themselves, if they had been from home at their returne, were to do θεοῖς τοῖς καὶ σέας (as Hercules calls them) to the Penates, the gods of the house. In like manner, at his going out of the Country, when he came to the borders he kissed the ground, and so took his leave of the Genius: as Ovid saies,

Met. l. 13.

— dant oscula terra Troades —

Whensoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an incivility to detain him. Menelaus accordingly practised, and left it for a rule.

Χρὴ ξῆνον παρέοντα φιλεῖν ἐθέλοντα ὃ πέμπουσιν.

And parting they usually gave ξεινήια δωρεᾶ, or τὰ ξένια, something or other for a remembrance: or to beare their charges by the way. Besides every mans private benevolence, there

was

was *πανδοχέον*, a common Hospitall maintained by the City. Where if any strangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complaine to the Magistrate and be righted. Indeed a murderor or such like person, they might not by any means *πυλὸν ἔσθαι* (as he calls it) entertaine him, and give him meat and drink, as being *aqua & igni interdictionum*.

CAP. IX.

De Pauperibus sublevandis.

AND now in the last place, I have a word to say also, of the good will which the Athenians bare to the poore. And certainly if they intended no more then the Honour of their City, they would be loath to suffer any to become a begger; of whom *Isocrates* saies in his *Areopag.* *τὸ πάλιν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀτιμία τῇ πόλει*, that he is a disparagement to the City wherein he lives. To prevent the disgrace, every *ἐταιρεία* or Society, kept a poor-mans box, or a common Treasury, for the reliefe of such as came to poverty, and the ransome of the Captives. Into that box once every month, they used *εἰσφέρειν ἕκαστος*, conferre erantum (as *Plautus* saies *erantum amici contulerunt*) to put every mans contribution; and from thence were the contributors called by the name of *ἐραριστὰί* or *ἐράνων πληρωταί*. He that thus came to a gathering (as we call it) was said *συνεγείναι* or *κομίζειν* ἕκαστος, as in *Aristotle* (*Acroas l. 2. c. 5.*) where he makes this instance of a thing *καὶ τὸ χεῖρ*, that happened by chance; if a creditor, *ἐν τῷ ὅτι ἀπολαβεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον ἦλθεν ἐν κομιζομένῳ ἕκαστος*, with his Bond in his hand should come to his debtor for mony, when he with his roll in his hand, was come to the parish (as we say) for a collection. Such another contribution was that which they called *ἐράνον παπῶν*, appointed by *Aristides* for those that assisted him in the Warre against the *Medes*, of which *Aristophanes* in his *Lysistrate*. If there hapned any controver-

\* That there may be no poor among you &c. Deuteron. 15. 14. So some render.  
כִּי אִם כִּי לֹא יִהְיֶה עֲנִי אִתְּכֶם

fy in this businesse, there were *Σίγα ἰεγυῖται*, Lawes and Writs made for the purpose.

\* L. 9. de Leg. *Plato* speaks very well of this \* custome, and *Trajanus* the Emperour in his answer to *Pliny* approves it, permitting the use thereof to the *Amiseni* (for other Cities had it as well as *Athens*) *eo facilius, si tali Collationi &c.*

Other provision there was besides this *cranus*, for their reliefe. For the richer sort were wont every new moon, to make a great feast of Bread, and other course fare for this purpose. Which feast being chiefly intended to the honour of *Hecate*, gave occasion to them to call every course beggerly feast, by the name of *Hecates cena*. But as bad as the fare was, the person in *Pluto Aristophanis*, took his argument even from thence, to commend the condition of the poore, above that of the rich. Saies he—*Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἐχάτης ἔξισι τῷτο πυνδίδω*

\* *Εἰτὶ τὸ πλεῖον, εἴτε τὸ πεινῆν βέλπον &c.*

Aske *Hecate* and she will tell which is best. To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lucar*, mony allowed them out of the Treasury, to pay for places at the *Playes* and *Shewes*.





## S E C T. III.

## De Ritibus Bellicis.

## CAP. I.

## De Militibus.

**H**AVING spoken of the customes used by the Athenians amongst *themselves*, it will be fitting in the next place to say something of those which they used towards their *enemies*; and after that of those towards either, or both, in Divinations.

The Warlike provision which they made for the defence of the City, was partly this. The young men being Listed *inter Ephēbos* (which was as I told you, at the age of eighteen) were from that time till twenty, *ἐς τοὺς δειπλοῦς* (as they called it) that is, they must be *circitores* or *fraxatores*. Or they must *δεῖπλεῖν τὰ περὶ πόλιν φρούρια* stand sentinell and keep Guards in the Forts, and be employed in the making of Works and the like: according to that of \* *Terence*, *Video heririlem filium minorem huc advenire: Miror, quid ex Piræo abierit, nam ibi custos publicè est nunc*. The first of the two yeares they kept within the City, but the second they proceeded to the Suburbs, and in token of the degree they had taken, they received of the people a shield, and a Speare, and a *χλαμύς*

Harpoori

\* In *Eupuchis*.

Vipian. ad O-  
lymp.

Aristot. de  
Rep. Ath.

or Coat for a Livery. During these two yeares, they could not be compelled to fight *χωρεῖοι*, without the Liberties. But ever after till forty they might. And both the first, and every year after, till the end of forty two yeares, (as I take it) they had their own names, together with the name of the *ἑπώνυμοι*, registred in this manner, *ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπώνυμος*. Such a one in pay ever since such a one was Arcon Eponymus: to shew how long every man had been in service. Of these *ἑπώνυμοι*, there were twenty two, according to the number of the yeares from eighteen to forty. They are called *ἑπώνυμοι λέξεως*, from the *λεξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, in which they listed their names after they were twenty years old; and sometimes *ἑπώνυμοι ἡλικιῶν*, because they thus kept a note of every mans age: in opposition to *ἑπώνυμοι ὧν φυλῶν*, who were but to keep a note of their Tribes. Now some there were that were exempted, and some that were excluded from that service: the former were such as Custom-holders *οἱ τὸ τέλος πειράμενοι*, who therefore had the priviledge *τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν*: or the *χορηγῶντες*, i. e. *οἱ τῶν Διονυσῶν χορηγοί*. Bacchus his Salii, or dancing Priests. The latter were *οἱ δῆτες*. Slaves, and all such proletarian People who were not to be imployed but in case of necessity, nor had the honour *ἐκ καταλόγου εἰσθῆσθαι*, which the others had. For they, as soon as they had taken the oath in the Temple of Agraulus *ἐκπαρῆναι πᾶσι*, were listed by the *Πολέμαρχος*, or Generall (as many as he *ἐπέλεξεν* made choice of, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus*) in the *κατάλογος*, or Muster-role, which he kept for the same purpose, having beside that another *πίναξ* or Table-book, for such as were *Emeriti* out of service, and discharged. After they had been listed by the Generall, they were to be listed again by the under Officer, the *ὀπλίται*, or the foot by the *παξιπάρχοι*, and the Horse-men by the *ἐυλαρχοί*. The *ὀπλίται* were of three sorts. First those more especially so called, such as used much armour, *βαρυτάτοι οἀλῖται*, and were *gravis armatura milites*, with their wide Shields and long Spears. 2ly *ἐλατοί*,  
Levis

*Levis armatura milites*, such as had little or no Armour, but carried Arrowes, and Darts, and Stones for the sling. And 3ly Πελταται, a middle sort between both, with their πελται or ἀσπίδες, narrow Shields, and short Speares. Such as they made choyce of for Horse-men, were to be δοῦναι τοῖς ἄλλοις (saies Xenophon) able both in body and purse, and therefore were to be examined first by the Senate of 500, before they could be listed; and so were likewise the Horses themselves, to try whether they were λακτίζοντες skittish, or φορόδες (as the Scholiast calls it) Noyse-proofs. And this they did τῷ κώδωνι φέρον, with a Bell, or a Kettle-drum, or a Pipe, I know not which I shall render it. And now I am put in mind of the κώδων, which they used to make a noyse withall, when they did περιπατεῖν Walk the round to try whether the Guards were asleep or no, which they called κώδωνοφορεῖν or κώδωνίζειν.

Κώδωνοφορεῖται, παῖς ἄλλος

Φυλακὰ καὶ ἐσθίειν

Inasmuch that κώδωνίζειν, is used for the same with πιεσάειν, to try, or prove (as in Aristophanis *Batrachis*, ὅτι ποιεῖ, κώδωνισα) and κώδωνισον for ἀπειράσον *intentatum*. (As in *Lysistratē*, καὶ πειράσειν πάλιν ἐλέγχους ὡς αἰχρὸν ἀκωδωνισοῖ ἐὰν τὸ τοῦτο πειράγμα μὴ δύναιται.) If a Horse had been τετραυμένον worne and beaten out with long service, they marked him in the Jaw with the sign of a Τετ (a wheel I think) and gave him his τετραπίπτον; for so they called both the mark and the discharge it selfe: whence came the proverb used by *Eupolis* ὥσπερ ἵππῳ μοι ἐπὶ βάλῃς τετραπίπτον, to give a man his τετραπίπτον, that is his discharge. All their Horses the Greeks reckoned to be consecrated to the Sun, and *Beda* upon the Kings, gives this reason, *Audientes Græci ab Israëlitis, quos divinas habere literas fama prodebat quod Helias curru ignis, & equis igneis sit ad caelestes translatus (vel certe hoc ipsum in alia depictum in pariete videntes) crediderunt vicinā decepti nominis Solis hic transitum per caelos esse designatum, & miraculum divinitus factum commutarunt in argumentum erroris, &c.* because

Hesych.



*lias* once was carried up to Heaven with Horses, therefore *Helios* or the Sun, must be thought to have horses consecrated to his service for ever after.

I. Poll. l. 8.  
c. 10.

The horse-men, first, some were *δμιχαι*, that had two *waies* to fight, with Armour for the purpose, and a boy to hold their horse while they fought a foot (a fashion of *Alexanders* own inventing.) 2. Some were *ἵππαγωγοί*, that had two Horses, one to ride upon, and the other to lead from *ἀγωγή*. Their manner of life was very high and stately, for many times they would *πομπεύειν*, that is, have a *transvection*, or ride into the City in Pomp and triumph, with a Coach and a garment of Scarlet or Purple, usually called by the name of a *ξυσίς*, as it is in these verses.

Ὅταν σὺ μέγας ὦν ἄρμ' ἐλάυνης ποδὲς πόλιν

Ὡς περ Μεγακλῆς ξυσίδι ἔχων.

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach horse, or sit in the chaire. *Αυρίγα* then were called *ἵππαις*, and were better then *ᾠδὰ βόται*, who lookt to the Coach only.

The number of the Horse-men was greater or lesse, according to the number of the people. Otherwise (as *Pollux* saith) every *ταυρία* (which was the twelfth part of a Tribe) was to find two.

Most of the Athenian Souldiers were *assidui*, and went to Warre upon their own charges, insomuch that they reckond it a very disgracefull thing to be *ararii*, or *metelli*, and to take pay. Concerning a mercenary Souldiers pay, what it was, because it was so often changed, I think I had better be silent. And concerning the habit, and diet of others only this, that a Law made by *Cineas* and *Phryxus*, forbade them to be *ἀβροδαιτες*, dainty and to weare long haire, as some say: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant only of their fore-locks, which they were to cut, *ἵνα μὴ παρέχων ἐν τῷ πολεμῳ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀντήληψιν*, that the enemy might have no hold fast, saies *Plutarch* in his *Theseus*, where he saies also that the fashion

fashion being first used by *Theseus* was therefore called  
Θησεύς.

CAP. II.

*De Armis quibus vim profulsabant.*

THE first makers of Armour are said to be the *Lemnians*, of whom *Vulcan* was the chief workman. The Metall whereof it was made, at the first was Brasse, saies a *Pausanias*: a In *Lacon*. but for want of Iron, saies *Hesiod*.

Καλλῶ δ' εἰργάζοντο, μέλας δ' ἐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος.

The most noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the coat of *Maile*. The most noted thing in the *Helmet*, was the *Crest*, invented by the *Cares*, and therefore called by *Alceus*, καεικὸς λόφος. The thing or the part wherein, or whereto it was fastend they called σφήκωμα, and to fasten it σφηκῶσαι.

*Homer*.

Πλοχμοὶ δ' οἱ χρυσῷ ἀργύρῳ σφηκῶντο.

The *Crest* was double or treble, according to the quality of the person. For if he were an *heros* it might be treble, saies b *Em* b In *Orest*. *ripides*, and *quadruple*, saies c *Apollonius*. c. L.2.

Τετραῖφалος φοίνικι λόφῳ ἐπιλάμπεται πῆληξ.

The stufte whereof it was made, was usually feathers, and the haire of a Horse-taile; and thence it is that it is called *ἵππειος*, and *ἵπποκομος* *τυφάλα* in d *Theocritus*; and that it is said e *σι* d Id. 23. *ρῆρυν* when the haire fell off. The other parts of the *Helmet* e *Aristoph*. bare the name of that part of the head to which they belong, *Pace*. as *ὄφρως* the *eyebrows*, and the rest, except the *Penthouse* τὸ γέσπον. Of the *Shield*, both the *matter*, and the *forme*, was of severall kinds, for sometimes it was made of *Oziers* woven together, according to that of *Virgil*. *Æn*. 7.

— *flectuntq; Salignas*

*Umbonum crates* —

(but then they *Hesych*.)

called it *ἱππία*) and sometimes of wood: but most commonly of raw *Oxe* hides, or of pieces of *Leather*, doubled or laid

laid one upon the other. Ovid saies Ajax had *Septemplicem clypeum*, a Buckler that had seven pieces of or foldings in it; and Achilles another that had ten. Neither was this all, for it was done over with Brasse besides, as that of Achilles was,

— & as & proxima rupit

*Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.*

a Troad. v.  
1336.

And therefore in a Euripides it is called χαλκόνιστος ἀσπίς. For the forme of it, it was sometimes long, sometimes round, and sometimes square. The names of the severall parts of it you may have in I Pallux L. 1. c. 10. Only thus much I may tell you, first for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deale of curiosity, both for shew and for use, as having αἰχμη ornaments to be seen, and μεγάλα little holes to see others by, set in the ἵνυς, or the border. And 2ly, For the invention of them; the handle by which they held it, called ἄσπιν, or πύρραξ, or ὄχανον, was invented by the Carcs, and thence it was that Anacreon called it, χειρὶς ὄχανον: and so were likewise the umbilicus, and the armes, and most of the rest. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they used to put a Shield and a Crest into the grave along with him. The Armes, (τάσμηνα, or ἐπιστήμη) were different, according to the quality of the bearer. Ulysses had his Διαριδόμενον; Idomeneus Grand-child to Sol a Ρουστ-ροκ the avant courier to the Sunne. But the Heroes anciently, and for the most part, used to beare Eagles, αἰετῶν ἐπιστήμας χυπόσας τῶν χαλκηλάτης. To the Arms, they added verses in commendation of the prowess of the Person, by which he deserved those Armes, and the name of the maker; such as Pausanias relates upon that of Idomeneus. The case or Theca wherein the shield was put, they called σάγμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like cases, according to that in

Strabo l. 14.

\* Aristoph. in  
Ran.

In Eliatr.

Eur. v. 617.

Andromache.

Κάλλιστα τεύχη ἐν καλοῖσι σάγμασι

L. 21. c. 14.

Rhodiginus saies, that in the use of the shield, there were some things which they observed to be ομνιων: for if it happened



pend to strike their knees, they counted it lucky : but if they struck it with their Speare, 'twas an ill-signe. The most famous shield that ever I read of in heathen writers, was that of *Jupiter Aegiochus*, named *Αἰγίς*, because he covered it with the skin of his nurse the goat called *Amalthæa*, this shield he bestowed upon *Minerva*, who ingraved upon it the *Stone-making* or *astonishing* head of *Medusa*. Whether that *Scutum sacrum* which *Alexander* is said to have stolne, and to have carried alwaies before him, were the same with this or no, I know not. Their shields when they laid them up in the Temples (as the fashion was also for the other sorts of armes) they suffered not to have their *πόρπακες handles*, (or some such necessary appurtenance) that so in case there should be any insurrection, they might be the lesse ready for use; which was the cause why he in the Poet cryed out so as he did, when he saw it otherwise.

\*Οἱ μοι πάλας ἔχουσι γὰρ πόρπακας.

For saies another a little before.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῶ, εἴπερ φιλεῖς τὸ δῆμον ἐκ περφοίαις

Ταῦτα εἶναι αὐτοῖς τοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀνατεθῆναι.

The *Coats of Maile* were of three sorts, the first ζῶμα, which reached from the navell to the knees : the second ἡμιστερεῖον, which covered halfe the brest, such as *Polyanus* reports to have bin much used by the Souldiers of *Alexander* the Great. The third δόραξ, which reached from the shoulders to the navell, so called ἀπὸ τοῦ δεινὸν ἀρεῖν, from *preserving the heart*, *Etymol.* and the brest : from which peculiar office of it, *Aristophanes* in *Acharnensibus*, borrowes the word δωρήξασθαι, for to signify to be well nigh drunk, (as we say when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well armed against the cold) and ἀπερδωρεῖν, to signifie ἀπερμεθύσκει drunk to the top. Now a *Tborax* was either σαπὲς, all of one piece, plaine like σαπὲς καὶ τὸν *vesta tunica* : or else ἀλυσίδειον, with *chaines* or *plaies* of iron put between the leather (as it is in our *Coates of Maile*.) The *leather* I say, because it was usually made of a hide (τὸ

laid one upon the other. Ovid saies Ajax had *Septemplicem clypeum*, a Buckler that had seven pieces of or foldings in it; and *Achilles* another that had ten. Neither was this all, for it was done over with Brasse besides, as that of *Achilles* was,

— & as & proxima rupit

*Tercia novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.*

a Troad. v.  
1336.

Strabo l. 14.

\* Aristoph. in  
Ran.

In Eliatr.

Eur. v. 617.

L. 22. c. 14.

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*Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.*

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And therefore in a Euripides it is called χαλκὸν ἄσπις. For the forme of it, it was sometimes long, sometimes round, and sometimes square. The names of the severall parts of it you may have in *I Pallas* L. 1. c. 10. Only thus much I may tell you, first for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deale of curiosity, both for shew and for use, as having κίχους ornaments to be seen, and κίχματα little holes to see others by, set in the ἵνι, or the border. And 2ly, For the invention of them; the handle by which they held it, called κέρας, or πόρπαξ, or ὄχανον, was invented by the Carcs, and thence it was that Anacreon called it, κλειοργὴς ὄχανον: and so were likewise the umbilicus, and the armes, and most of the rest. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they used to put a Shield and a Crest into the grave along with him. The Armes, (τάσμημα, or ἐπίσημα) were different, according to the quality of the bearer. Ulysses had his Σαρκενδορπον; Idomeneus Grand-child to Sol a Roost-cock the αὐαντ κορευρ to the Sunne. But the Heroes anciently, and for the most part, used to beare Eagles, ἀσπίδων ἐπίρτας χρυσοῖς καὶ χαλκῶδες. To the Arms, they added verses in commendation of the prowesse of the Person, by which he deserved those Armes, and the name of the maker; such as Pausanias relates upon that of Idomeneus. The case or Theca wherein the shield was put, they called σάγμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like cases, according to that in

Strabo l. 14.

\* Aristoph. in  
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In Eliatr.

Eur. v. 617.

Andromache.

Καλίστα τεύχη ἐν καλοῖσι σάγμασι

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Οἱ μοι πάλας ἔχουσι καὶ πόρπακες.

For saies another a little before.

Οὐ καὶ ἐχρῶ, εἴπερ φιλεῖς τὸ δῆμον ἐκ περτοίας

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σύντῃ) as the *Scuta* were,

——— πρὸ δ' ὠρέοντο σκῦτι,

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Pace.*

So they say that the Latine word *Lorica* comes from *Lorum*, the dried and tanned hide, whereof it was made. According to that of *Virgil*,

*Cui pellis latos humeros exempta juvenco  
Pugnatori operit.*

The holes where they put out their armes *Aristophanes* calls *δαλαμῆς*, by a Metaphor from the holes of a boate, where they put out the Oares.

*Aristoph. in  
Pace.*

The Colour most in use upon their Armes, Cloathes, or Crests, &c. was crimson red, either to make themselves the lesse afraid, if they saw their blood, being used to the colour; or else that the enemy might be the lesse able to perceive it, if they should chance to be wounded. From the *Phœnicean* colour, the *Lacedemonians* called their Coat (or Crest, or what is it?) *φοινικίδα*. In allusion to whose red bloody colour, the Poet in *Achæarnenses* speaking of having a fellow beaten till the blood came, thus expresses it.

Μὴ ἐκταξάνειν ἃ ἄνδρα τῶτον εἰς φοινικίδα.

*Let's card him, and work him, and belabour him, 'till we make his skinne like a φοινικίς.*

*Idem.  
Ibid.*

To carry their *Provision* in, every man had his *γύλιον*, or *ὀφθαλμῶν σπατιωτικῶν* a kind of *basket* (*fiscinam*,) made of *Oziers* (*πλέγμα*) with a long narrow neck. And therefore the Poet having used the word *γύλιον*, to signifie such a thing, in the same Comedy uses the word *γυλιωνχένας*, to signifie *men that had a neck as long as that thing*. Their ordinary provision was Cheefe, and Olives, and Onions. Their quantity commonly so much as would serve for three dayes, according to that of the same Poet still, and in the same Comedy, where speaking against the troublesome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons in *viz.*

Ἐπιτηρεῖν τὰ σίτι' ἡμερῶν τριῶν.

*Those too often repeated orders for three dayes provision.*

CAP.



## CAP. III.

*De armis quibus vim inferebant.*

THE *Armes*, or the *Weapons* they used to fight with, were in ancient time clubs (used also for the putting of Malefactors to death) called by \* *Homer* *φάλαγγες*, according to that of *Horace*, \* *Il.* 4.

*Unguibus & pugnis, dein fustibus; atq; ita porro  
Pugnabant armis quæ post fabricaverat usus.*

But afterward they came to *Speares*, a weapon so highly esteemed, that some would not stick to adore it; as may be gathered by the words of *Eustathius*. ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση πύλας εἰς ὅν δὲν ἀκόντιον δέδωκεν ὁ ποσειδάων ἀειδμεῖν. Where *ἀειδμεῖν*, some say signifies to worship (and so they say of the word *numera-re*, used by *Cicero* in his Book *De Nat. Deorum*. *Novi ego Epicureos omnia sigilla numerantes.*) Thus it is reported of one *Phe-reus Alexander* a tyrant, that having killed his unkle *Poly-phron* with his *Speare*, he took it and crowned it with *Garlands*, and caused it to be adored by the name of *πυλὸν*. One would have thought it sufficiently honoured, to be used by *Kings* instead of *Scepters*, as *Justin* saith it was: or at most to have a place in the Temple: or else to have been dedicated to a god, as *Plutarch* saith it was to *Pallas*, (because of *πάλαι*, the proper word for *ἀκόντιον*) and to be joyned to the statute of the god: for so it commonly was among the *Latines* especially; whence it came that *hasta mota*, *shaking of the Speares*, so often spoken of by *Livy* and others, was accounted such a grand *prodigium*. If there were none of this, yet the respect they gave to them will sufficiently appeare, in the care they took of the keeping them. For when they slept in the field they fastned it ἐν σαρωνῇ, which *Pollux* interprets, the *but-end* of the *Speare*, made (it may be) with a *cross* for the better hold-fast, *quasi σαρωνῇ* from *σαυός*. But *Eustathi-*

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us saith it was an iron with a sharpe taile like a snake, to be set in the ground, and hollow head, to set the speare in, from *σαῦγε* *Lacerta* a Lizard, which it resembled. When they came home, they set it in a long wooden *case*, made of purpose by a pillar of the house.

*Odysf. 1.*

\**Ἔγχος μὲρ ἔσῃσι φέρον ἀπὸς κίονα μακρόν*  
*Δυσέδκης ἐντοδεν ἐν ξύῳ* ———

saies *Homer*, and *Virgil* has the like.

*Æn. 12.*

*Exin qua mediis ingenti adnixa columna*  
*Ædibus astat, validam vi corripit hastam.*

The custome first *παλαιά* to vibrate the Speare before they used it, to try the strength of it, was so constantly kept, that *ἔγχος*, a shake-speare, came at length to be an ordinary word both in *Homer* and other Poets to signifie a Souldier. When the Greeks began the use of Bowes, I know not: but it seems they had such things, and *Hesychius* in the word *ἰσασία*, saies they made the strings of Horses haire. Swords likewise they had, which they used to hang by their sides, *διὰ τελαμώνων* by belts, or strings of leather, as they did the shields: and the strings came over the shoulders as ours do.

*Æ. on Il. γ.*  
*Hesiod.*

\**ὅμοιοι δὲ μὴ ἀμφὶ μελάδεντον ἄορ ἔκειτο.*

What other offensive armes they had I know not. But the Scholiast upon *Enripides*, in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban Warre, they excelled most in the defensive: and that the Barbarians were better at the offensive.

#### CAP. IV.

*De ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi Bellum, consulendi deos, observandi dies, & trajiciendi fluvios.*

**A**S carefull and as cunning as they were in Warlike affairs, I cannot find but that they did *propere sequi quæ peger inchoare*, beare a greater affection to Peace: as may appeare in

in their honourable receiving of Embassadors, to whom they gave *hearing* in no worse place then a *Temple*, and their *entertainment* in the *Prytaneum*. The usuall Ensigne carried by Greek Embassadors, was *κηρύκειον caduceus* a right staffe of wood with snakes twisted about it, and looking one another in the face. Whether this was to affright them from discord, and to put them in mind of the *Serpents teeth* (a seed of dissention sometime sown by *Cadmus* among *Draco's* friends) tis but *σχολιάσαι* my conjecture, and a bolt perhaps too soon shot to hit the marke. An Embassadors allowance, was *τινὸν δραχμῶν* a day, which they usually called *τὸ πορεῖον*. If the Peace could not be kept, but they must needs have warre: yet they would be sure to give warning, and faire play, and make Proclamations of their intentions, before they marcht.

*Etym.*

The manner in proclaiming Warre, was to send a fellow of purpose, either to cast a Speare, or to let Loose a Lamb into the borders of the Country, or into the City it selfe, whether they were Marching (which *Hesychius* rather thinks to have been the *signall* before a battle) thereby shewing them

*q. Homer in Batrachom.*

*μηλόβοτον ἀντὶ τῶν ἐστὶν ἴσθαι καὶ τῶν πόλεων*, that what was then

*Diogenian.*

a habitation for *men*, should be shortly a pasture for *sheep*, and what was then pasture for their *own* sheep, should be shortly turned to the use of their *enemies*. Before they set forward upon a March, you will not think how exact they were in preparation; considering, and examining whether it were convenient or not: the Gods must be Sacrificed to, the Prophets and Diviners sought to, and all the old Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City searcht into: for this course the *Tragædian* makes to have been taken by *Demophon* of *Ἀθήναις* Athens, upon the coming of *Euristhenes*. Then besides this, *ἐν δόλοισι* after the manner of other Nations, Jewish, Latine, and Per-

*σφάραγες ἡ-ποιμασμένα,*

*ἔσκηεν, οἷς καὶ ταῦτα τέμνειν δέον. συνεποκρίνεται δ' αὖτε μάλιστα ὑπο Τροπαῖα τ' ἐχθρῶν καὶ πόλεος σωτήρια. χρησμῶν δ' αἰδοῦς πάντας εἰς ἐν αἰλίους ἠλεγξα καὶ βέλβηλα καὶ κεκρυμμένα λόγια παλαιὰ τῇ ὧ γῇ σωτήρια.*

*fian*

lian, they used to vow one thing or other, to be devoted and consecrated to the gods, in case they prevailed: such as was that of the Tithe of the men to *Apollo*, and many other vows of the like price. Nay the Athenians were so over-lavish in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, testifying the gods dislike of such courses, and commending the frugality of the Lacedæmonians.

In like manner were they superstitious in the observation of *daies*. For as the *Lacedæmonians* thought it not good to march *ἐν πῶς παροσλήγης*, till the full of the Moone: so neither did they think it lucky either to march *ἐν πῶς ἐβδομῆς*, till the seventh day of the Moneth, or to make any Commanders till the new of the Moon. In Marching, the Generall used alwaies *ἔχειν τὸ κέρας δεξιόν*, to keep himself on the right horne, or wing. The Souldiers but newly entred (*οἱ ὀπιοτεροι*) kept themselves *ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς ἀκινδύνοισι*, in those parts, or those *Corpora* (as the Romans called them) which were lesse in danger, such kind of service was from thence called *σεβεία ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι*, and sometimes *περδραία*. When they came to a River, before they went over, they would be sure to Sacrifice by it, which they called *θύειν τὰ διαβαίοντα*. No passing without a prayer,

χ. *Aristoph.*  
*in Eq.*  
*Herodot.*

*Suidas.*

*Hesiod. l. 2.*

*Festus.*

— *πρὶν γ' εὐξῆ ἰδὼν ἐς καλὰ ρέερα.*

The Romans alwaies observed the like custome when they came to *Petronia*, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly calling the action *Peremne auspici*.

## CAP. V.

*De ritu Commitendi pralium, & de usu tubarum.*

χ. *In Eurip.*  
*Phæn.*

**W**Hen they fought a Battle, after they had killed a *villime* and lookt upon the gall, then away to the *Torches*: for *πυρφόροι ἀντὶ σαλπγκτῶν*, instead of sounding a Trumpet, they had fellows whom they called *πυρφόροι*, that went before with *Torches*, and throwing them down in the midst between



between the two Armies, gave the signe.

*Prima manu rutilam de vertice Larissæo  
Obtrudit Bellona facem.*

Statins Tb.4

*Lycophron* in his ἐχθεῖς ὃ πυρσόν, and *Pindar* in ὕμνων πυρσόν, seem to allude to this incentive or incendiary. Now this business they might do safely, and without any danger, ἀνεχόμενοι. For the Torch-bearers were peculiarly protected by *Mars*, and accounted sacred, \* ἐπεὶ οὗ θεῶ: insomuch that it became a proverb, when an Army was totally defeated, ἐδὲ \* α. in *En-*  
ὁ πυρσὸν φ. ἐσώθη. Those Torches *Euripides* in *Rhesus* calls πυ-  
ρὸς λαμπήνας, where he saies that the *Achivi* avoided them, ἐσώζοντο ὃ δὲ  
that is, refused to fight.

— πυρὸς λαμπήνας ἐξήρδης κλύων.

Φάγειν Ἀχαιῶς.

*Qui elatus es, audiens faces*

*Fugere Achivos.*

(better in my mind then

*Qui, audiens ignis faces accensas adductus est, ut credat fugere*

ὅς.) Nay, not only when they would signifie their intentions

to fight with the enemy, to the enemy himselfe: but also when

they would signifie his approach to others, to have their assistance,

they made use of Torches too, which they called φρύκ-

τις. The word rendred faces, and you may render it Brands, or

Beacons if you will, for they were made of dry wood, or sticks,

that would quickly take fire, as our Beacons are. And they

had men still who did φρυκτωρεῖν keep φρυκτωρίας Watches, in the

\* Towers or Forts, as we do at the Beacons. If the enemy

came in the night, they fired the Brands, if he came by day,

they raised a smoke. But I must tell you, there were φίλοι

φρυκτοὶ Torches or Brands, to be lighted upon the approach of

their friends too: as well as πόλεμιοι. But with this distinction,

that φίλοι were held, or let lye still: but the πόλεμιοι were

tossed and shaken to and fro.

But these Torches lasted not alwaies. For afterwards they

came to make use of Trumpets, according to that of *Æschylus*

Σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκείν' ἐπιφλάγει.

In-

α. In *Homer*  
Il. σ.

\* κὶ φρυκτω-  
ρίας ἐν ποσσὶ  
πύργους *A-*  
*ristoph.* in  
*Avib.*

In *Persis.*

In Phan.

a' Επειδ' ἐ-  
σήμεν' ὄρδοι  
πυρηνικῇ  
Σάλπιγγι, καὶ  
σωῆσαν ἀλ-  
λήλοισ μά-  
χῃ. v. 830.  
b C. 6. 5.

In-or accendit still, perhaps in a metaphor from the fire of the Torches once in use. The first invention of the Trumpet is attributed by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* to the *Tyrrheni*, from whom it is conceived to have been first brought into Greece by one *Archidas* an assistant to the *Heraclida*, as the same Scholiast reports in the same place. α' πρώτῳ δ' Ἀρχίδαε συμμαχῶν τοῖς Ἡρακλίδαις ἤγαγε πρὶν πυρηνικῶν σάλπιγγα εἰς ἑλληνας. And therefore he calls the Trumpet *πυρηνικῶν*, viz. from the inventers; As the Poet himselfe had done before, both in his *Phanissa*, and his *Heraclida*: where he saies it was used when they joyned Battle, and that then it sounded β' ὄρδοι a long blast, like that in the book of *Judges* (but of this word I have spoken before.) There was a time when shields did serve for Trumpets *conchaez sonantes*: and then you might easily construe that riddle of *Theognis*.

Ἦδη δὲ κέκληκε δαλάσι δ' ὀικαδὲ νεκρῶς  
τεθνηκὼς ζωῶ φεγγόμετ' ὅματι.

## CAP. VI.

De Scytale, de Militum pœnis &amp; præmiis &amp; Sepulturâ.

c Επειχάπα-  
σεφῇ τεύχονθ'  
ὄρω &c.  
Soph. Trach.  
x. In Ari-  
stoph. Eq.

L. 17. c. 9.

IF it went well with the Army in the fight, the messenger that was sent with the newes was adorned with c Garlands. In the mean time those that were at home, and continually lookt for newes, used to sacrifice to the gods in the waies, ὡς ἂν οἱ ἀγαθὰ εἶεν, θηνέυσαν ταύτας, εἰν δ' ἐναντίον, ἐπ-  
τρέψαιαν. If it were god, to bring it along the way to them, if not, to be there in the way and stop it. For close conveying of the intelligence I suppose they had severall waies. Whether they made use of the *Lacedemonians* σκυτάλη, I know not. If you please, you may read the description thereof in *A. Gellius* at full: or in the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in his *Aves*. Where he saies, that they made them two staves or rods ἰσομήκεις of a length, one to be kept at home, and the other to be carried by the Gene-  
rall

herall along with him. When they meant to send him any private message, they took a piece of *σκύτον* a skin, or parchment, and wrote upon it, so as it could not be understood, unless it were rolled upon those staves, and the Parchment and the staffe one applied to the other. This Lacedemonian trick (as it seems by the Poet, whether he spake in jest or in earnest, I cannot tell) was imitated by the Athenians, among a great many other things, out of a *Laconomany*, as he terms it or a humour like that of the English to wards the French.

Ἐλαχνομαίνεν πάντες ἄνθρωποι τότε

Σκυτάλῃ ἱσθόν.

If any one turned *αὐτομόλος*, *transfuga*, or betrayed the place committed to him, he suffered death. If he had been *ἀσφατάς*, and would not, or *δούλος* and could not fight for feare, or if *ἀελοπίς* τὴν *πέσιν*, or *ρίψασις*, he had left his rank or thrown down his *Armes*, he was registred, and delivered to the *Heliasta* to be punished as they pleased, and not to come to the Temples, till he had satisfied justice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward.

Οὐχ ὅν τ' ἄγγελ' ἔλθων ἐς μάχην.

Such as were maimed, were to be allowed two *ὄβολοι*, saies *Hesychius*: (but one, saies *Harporation*) every day out of the publick Treasury: but first they were to be examined by the Parliament of five Hundred, whether they were *ἀδύνατοι*. Now *ἀδύνατοι* were *οἱ ἐν τῷ πλείων μὲν κλημένοι*, saies *Harporation*, those whose estates came not to so much as three *μίαι*. Such as were *slaine*, their Children were maintained out of the publique Treasure, till they came to be twenty yeares old: and then they had a *πανοπλία*, a *Suit of Armes* bestowed upon them, *ἀναμνησκῶσαι τὰ τῶ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδεύματα*, to put them in mind of their fathers exploits, and to keep them from degenerating. They had the honour also *περὶ δέας*, of having the formost seat at *shewes*. If they buried the party slain in the same place (as they did all at *Marathon*-fight) the fa-

\* Vid. *supr.*  
*Æschines*  
*contra Ctesiph.*

*Enrip. Heracle. v. 966.*

*Vid. Supr.*

*Plato.*



a Arma su-  
perveheris  
quid, Thra-  
sibule, tua?  
Auson Epig.  
24.

stion was then to make a shield his *Beere*; as twas before to make it his *cradle*, according to those words of the Lacedæmonians *virago* to her Son, as she was helping on his shield, ἢ τὰν, ἢ δὴ τὰν, either do thou bring the shield home againe, or let the shield bring a thee; nay and to make it his Coffin too sometime, as it seemes by the saying of *Talithybia* in *Euripides* concerning *Astyanax*.

Ἄλ' ἀντὶ κίσφου, ἀεὶ βλάπτει λαίρην

Ἐν τῇ δὲ δάφνι παῖδα.

Thucid. l. 3.

At the buriell, the rest of his company Marched in equi-  
page thrice about the *Pyra*, shaking their Armes, and throw-  
ing their swords, bridles, belts, or one thing or other, into the  
fire or the grave after him. But for the most part, they were  
allowed a publique buriell upon the common charge, at home  
in the *Ceramicus* all together. And then three dayes before  
the buriell, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the buriell  
day, every Tribe brought a Coffin of Cypresse-wood, and car-  
rying away each one their bones, put them in the ground  
with severall pillars and inscriptions, and one solemne speech  
for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed  
to have their Armes in their Shields, or else placed in the *ἄστυ*,  
and honoured with the name of *Cecropide*, Citizens of the true  
old blood: according to that

Eurip in  
Phæn.  
Ibid.

Οὐ πολλοὶ κεκροΐδες ἔσονται ἐγώ.

Sometimes such as had the *first fruits* (or the *prime*) of the  
spoyles, were adorned with a golden *στέφανος*.

Καὶ πῖνδε χρυσῶν στέφανον ὡς ὀρέας ἔχω

Λαβὼν ἀπὸ πολλῶν πολέμων στυλιδέων.

CAP. VIII.

De Trophæis.

**F**OR memorialls of the victory, *ἀνέσταντο θόνηαι*, they erected Trophies: (you may write *θόνηαι*, if you had rather follow the most ancient, then that which is newest in fashion.) Trophies were usually pillars of brasse, iron, stone, or wood. And the wood sometimes olive (*τὰ θόνηαι ἐκ τῆς ἐλίας*, *παλαιὸι ἀνέδεισαν*, saies Dionysius) and sometimes the trunk of an Oak.

*Quercusq; trophæis Carua trementis*

Those Pillars among them answered to the *arcus triumphalis* among the Latines. Only that might be overthrown; but these might neither be taken away, nor restored againe, if consumed with age or the like, *ὅτι αὐτὰ ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ κατασκευάζειν ἐπιφρονὸν ἔστι καὶ φιλαπὲρ χθονίαν*, least they should thereby rub up the old sore and revive the grudge with their enemies. And therefore saies the same Author, *καὶ παρ' ἑθνεσσιν ἐκ χαλκῶν στήνουντο θόνηαι ἐκ δρυὶν*, Those that made them Trophies of brasse, were lookt upon as contentious men, and haters of Amnesty. Now upon the Trophie, they engraved an *ἐπιγράμμα*, declaring the cause of the Warre, and the manner of the Victory: such a one as Oibryades wrote with the blood of the Argiv. The like inscriptions many times were written upon other things. For Pausanias having conquered Mardonius at Plateæ, did not only at Byzantium write it upon the Cup, which he consecrated to the gods of the place: (as Athenæus reports to his dispraise for his arrogance) but also upon a tripod besides, which he caused to be made of Gold and sent to Delphos, with this inscription,

*Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ σπάρτον ὤλεσε Μήδων  
Παυσανίας Φοῖβῳ μνήμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.*

Wherewith the Lacedemonians being displeased blotted it

T t 2

cleane

*αὐτοὶ γὰρ παλαιοὶ Ἀθηνοὶ καὶ οὐκ ἴσμεν, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι περὶ τούτων οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὁμοθυμαδόν. In Aristoph. Plut.*

*Plut. in Roman.*

*Stobæus de Fortunâ.*

*Thucid. l. i.*

a Ἑλλήνων  
 περμαχέν-  
 τες Ἀθηναί-  
 οἱ Μαργαρί-  
 τας ἔχοντες.  
 b Pison.

Eurip. in  
 Herac. v.  
 937.

In Odyss.

cleane out and instead thereof, engraved the names onely of those Cities, by whose help they obtained the victory, And so when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Marathon*, they caused an inscription to be set up in the vault called a *Ποικίλη*.

In *Cicero's* b time (it seems) the custome of erecting Trophies was left off. And therefore he saies, that the *Thebans* were accused for erecting a Trophie over the *Lacedemonians*. But instead of them, they erected sometimes Altars, (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Amanus*;) and sometimes Images to *Jupiter* Ἰππιός (so called from causing the enemy *πρίπι* to turne their *backs*: as the Romans did to *Jupiter Stator*, for causing their own Souldiers to stand to their ground) such a one as *Hyllus* and *Ἰδαίος* (as I told you before of *καλός*) good or valiant *Folans* erected.

Βρέτας Δίδος, Ἰππιός καὶ Ἰδαίος.

The *Spoyles* which they took (*σπῶλα* from the dead, and *λάφυρα* from the living) they usually dedicated to the gods, and sometimes sent them to *Delphos*. The common name for such things was *ἀποδία*, quasi *ἀνεοδία*, saies *Eustathius* as if it were *παρὰ τὸ σῖναι ἐν μάρῃ πολλὰ*: the same name which they gave to those goods, which Merchants consecrated for delivery from shipwrack (only that then there is a new Etymology, viz *ἀπὸ θινδὸς ἀλittore ἀπαρχὰς ἀναπαιρμέναι ἐξ ἐμπορίας διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ θινδὸς σπῶσθαι*, because the things were saved from being cast on shore.) But I rather incline to the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles Trachinia*, who saies those *ἀπαρχαί*, or the first fruits of the spoyles which they Sacrificed to the gods were called *ἀνεοδία*, because they used to lay the spoyles, which they had taken, together on a heap, and then *ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς θινδὸς*, they skim'd away the *Cream* as I may say, or the *Crop*, or the *Choyce* to be given back for the gods that gave them. In allusion whereunto *Megara* in *Enripides*, speaking what choyce of Wives she had made for her Sons out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expresses it thus.

Ἐξ ὧν νύμφας ἠνεοδίαζ' ὀμνῶ.

1000b

The



The Arms which they took, ἀνέθεντο they hung up for the most part in their Temples (and sometimes in their own house) as they did their *owne*, when they left the service, as Horace saies,

—Veianius, armis

*Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.*

Some of the spoyles they hung upon the Trophies, but wrote them b all. For that was the custome, τὰ σκῦλα τοῖς ἑ- παίοις ἐγγράφει, saies the Scholiast.

Τὰ παῖ ἱερύ-  
ται πανδ-  
χάντων  
πολεμίων---  
Eurip. He-  
racl. v. 786.

b In Phanis.  
Eur.



S E C T.





## LIBER SEPTIMUS.

### SECT. I.

*De ritu Divinandi per motum furem, & somniantem.*



HERE were not many things in use among the Jewes the People of God, which the Gentiles *imitatorum pecus*, do not seeme to have imitated; and so *vice versa*. Such as the Prophets were among them, such were the *Magi* among the Persians, the *Chaldei* among the Assyrians, *Gymnosophists* among the Indians, the *Galatæ* among the Sicilians, and the *Ætrusci* among the Italians. Neither was the honour or credit of Divination lesse than the use. For if we may believe a Strabo, οἱ δὲ μάντις ἐλημῶντο ὅτε καὶ βασιλείας ἀξιῦσαι, many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings To a Persian King it was necessary, to any other convenient. *Amphilo-  
lochus*

*Iochus*, and *Mopsus* Kings of *Argiv* were *Augurs* too. *Hele-*  
*mus* and *Cassandra* Children of a King; one was an *Augur*, and  
the other a *Sybill*. But to a *Physitian*, it was reckoned so neces-  
sary, that *Æschylus* has used *ιατρός* a *Physitian*, and *μάντις* a  
*Prophet*, one for the other, which made *Achilles* in time of the  
Penitence, to seek to *μαντιν* for a cure. The Scholiast upon  
*Homer* speaks of two men, *Melampus* and *Polypidus*, that were  
excellent in both Professions. Credit it had among the best  
Philosophers (especially that of *Dreames*, and *Enthysiasmes*)  
maintained by *Plato* and the *Socratics*, *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*,  
*Aristotle* and the *Peripateticks*. *Pythagoras* indeed was against  
*extispicina*, Divination by entralls; and only *Epicurus* against  
that and all the rest.

Prediction of things to come, was either from *men*, called  
*μαντεία*: or from the *Gods*, properly called *χρησμός* an *Oracle*.  
According to that of the Scholiast upon *Sophocles*, *χρησμός*  
ἢ ὁ θεὸς δοῶν, *μαντεία* δὲ ἀνθρώπων. Indeed *μαντεία* seems to<sup>a</sup> *In Oed.*  
be the *genus*, and *χρησμός* the *species*. The same Prophecy which *Tyr.*  
when it was spoken by a god, was a *χρησμός*, when it was de-  
livered by *men*, was *μαντεία*. In the *Oracles* the word was *b* *Ennius.*  
*Fari* (*neque me Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet*) where  
as in the other it could be but *presagire* at the wisest. The fa-  
culty in the first ἢ *μαντικὴ* (as we now called it, *καὶ παρανόμος τὸ*  
*τεμβαλόντες*) or ἢ *μανικὴ* as *Plato* called it (for, as *Tiresias* said, *c* *Plato.*  
<sup>δ</sup> τὸ μανιδὲς πολλὰ μανικῶς ἔχει) is divided by *Plutarch*, and  
*Cicero*, into first *τεχνικὴ* *artificiosam*, that which is acquired  
by observation and experience, *observatis longo tempore signifi-*  
*cationibus* &c. And 2ly, *ἄτεχρον* or *ἀδίδακτον* *naturalem*, for *Eurip.* in  
which we take little or no paines. These two *species* are said *Bacc. 199.*  
to be ὁ θνητεύς διδυμῶ *μαγιστράς*, the *twins*, or the double le-  
gacy, which *Apollo* bequeathed to *Janus* his sonne, and to  
his Family after him. The naturall or infused faculty of Di-  
vination, most properly called *μαντικὴ*, proceeded first *à*  
*motu furente*, from a *Frantick motion*. Which though they  
took it for a help to prophecy; yet it seems rather to have  
been



been a punishment sent from God, who in the Prophecy of *Isaiab c. 44. v. 25.* Said he would make their Diviners mad. And *Cicero* himselfe saies tis very strange, *ut qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos affectus sit*, that he that hath lost his own sense, should be able to know the sense of the gods. Hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick speeches of dying men: such as that of *Rhodius* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of six men that were of the same age, which should be first, and which next and so along. Or else it proceeded à *motu somnianti*, from a doring dreaming motion. And then they called it *ὀνειρονέστι-χλω*, which because it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a stone tumbling down the hill.

a *Cic. l. 1. de  
Divin.*

The first kind coming by *Enthusiasme* or Inspiration, was either of lesse authority; such as *Cassandra* had: or *Polybius* Prophecying his Sons death, as he went to *Troy*; or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny. Or else of greater, so as to command a belief: such as the Sybill women had, or the *Pythia* wench, who delivered the Oracles; which was nothing but a cunning trick, à *vafis quibusdam & questuariis inchoatum*, invented for gaine. The difference between those two Prophets consisted in this, that a *Terra vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, natura Sibyllam*. *Pythia* had it inspired, or blown into her out of the ground, and the Sibylles had it by nature. Now, because the number of Oracles, and the superstition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens*, then in any other part of the world, It may not be amisse to speak somewhat of the most noted of them, viz. *Pythium*, *Dodonaum*, and *Jupiter Hammon's*.

## CAP. I.

### *De Oraculo Pythio.*

THE most noted of the three Oracles was the first. It was called *Pythium*, for the same reason that the Woman

man was called *Pythia*, i. e. Either from *Python* the serpent, that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came, afterward killed by *Apollo*, who possessed the place by conquest. Or from *Pytho*, another name of *Delphos* the place of this Oracle, which came from *Pythis* the sonne of *Delphus*, the sonne of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to distribute Oracles to all the body of Greece, as the *navill* is to distribute nourishment to the body of a child. And therefore *Sophocles* calls it *μυσφάλον μαντεῖον*; because it was *ὀμφαλῶ* the *Navill*, or *Umbilicus* the mid'st of Greece, (saies *Strabo*) and not of the *World* as *Ovid* would have it *Orbe in medio positi*. And this they came to know forsooth, by the two *Eagles* saies *Pindar* (*Cromes* saies some, and others *Swans*) which being let fly by *Jupiter* met both in that place. Nay in allusion to the name of *ὀμφαλῶ* (by which it was commonly called) *Pausanias* saies there was to be seen in the Temple a *Navill* made of white stone, with a Ribband hanging to it for the *Navill* string. But *Lactantius* had rather derive it from *ὀμφη* the Oracle. And *Varro* would by no means yeeld to have it derived from the *Navill*, *quoniam neq. locus is sit terrarum medius, neque umbilicus sit in homine medius*. But the latter reason is defeated by *Vitruvius*, or by any one else. The first beginner of the Oracle (some say) was *Tellus*, *πρωτόμαντις γαῖα*: and some *Themis*.

Ἡ πρώτη κατέδειξε βροτοῖς μαντήσιον ἄγνον.

The first beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. When the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there, *Diodor. l. 6.* comming to a den very large before with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a suddaine fell a leaping and making a strange noise. He that kept them (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) seeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was, and fell into the same frolick; but prophesied too! And thus it fared with divers others, that came thither to the same purpose. Nay a great many, with the *breath* (*ἄσμα διαμύριον*, or *anhelitus terra*, as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the earth, expired. Insomuch that afterward they set a *Three-*

footed stool upon the hole, and a Maid upon it consecrated for a Priestesse, whose common name was *Pythia*, and her office to put the Oracle into verse and deliver it out. For (saies *Plutarch*) the words are hers, only *Apollo* τὰς φαντασίας πα-  
 εινησ, καὶ ὥς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ὡς τὸ μέλλον, fate in under blowing with the bellows to set her a peeping or a whispering like those *ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑ* in *Isaiah* c. 8. v. 19. Where he speaks of such *ἑγχεσμιδντες*, or belly Prophets that peep and mutter; such as the *Pythia* was, out of whose belly the Diuel spake his propheties with a small peeping voice like a child's. But that Prophet in another place comes neerer to us, saying, *Thou shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be as one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust.* Now some say the *Trypus* whereof I spake, was a pot filled with dust, thorow which the *afflatus*, the wicked inspiration, was to passe into the belly of the Wench, and so to go forth at her mouth for an Oracle. And therefore it is that those Prophets which in those times had a familiar spirit within them, were commonly called by the name of *ἑγχεσμιδοί*, and *σερνομαντεῖς*, as well as *πύθωνες*, and *εὐρυκλῆες*, the manner of her sitting, &c. when she took the spirit in, because it may not so fitly be expressed in English, I desire to give you it in the words of the d Scholiast, *Ἐπνευμένη τῷ βίποδι καὶ διατρέσα τὰ σκέλη πονηρῶς καὶ τῷ πνεύματι διὰ τῆς γυναικῶν ἐδίχετο μολεῖν, καὶ τὰς βίχας λύσου, καὶ ἀφείν ἐν τῷ σώματι πρὸς πρὸς καὶ μαίνεσα, τὰς μαντείας, ἢ μᾶλλον μαίαι ἐφείγετο.* She was no sooner inspired, but she fell a tearing her hair, and running round, foaming at the mouth, and cutting her flesh as bad as ever the Prophets of *Baal* did. *Lactantius* thus speaks of their gestures, *Seclis namq, humeris & utraq, manus distictos gladios exerentes currunt, efferantur, insaniunt.* But this peeping may not make me preposterous; and therefore I will tell you more of the Wench and the *Tripus*. The first Maids name that prophesied in that place, was *Phenomena*. All the rest were young Virgins, as she was, till *Echecrates*, a Thessalian

a As I have heard he lately did in a possessed Christian in the Town of Barwick.

b C. 29. v. 4.

*Plutarch. de Orac. defec.*  
 c And *Euryclea* from *Eurycles* a Prophet of that name.  
 d *Aristoph. in Avid.*



Theſſalian deflowred *Phabas*; and then they made choice of Women of fifty years of age, but made them go in the habit of a Virgin. The a cuſtome of thoſe Virgins was, before they <sup>a</sup> *χ.ον* *Εν* went to ſchool, to waſh their bodies, and eſpecially their hair in *rip. Phan.* the fountain *Caſtalins* (where the Poets, a people of the like inſpiration, and *Vates* too, were uſed to waſh)

— *κόμας ἐμὰς δ' εὖσαι* — when they ſate firſt on the ſtool, they uſed to ſhake b the Laurel-tree that grew <sup>b</sup> *χ.ον* *Ari-* cloſe by the *Tripus*, and ſometimes to take the leaves and chew *ſtoph.* in their mouths, as *Lucian* ſaies *μασσομένη δάφνῳ*, for ſo other ſuch Women uſed to do, and therefore *Lycophron* calls *Cassandra* *λαμβὸν δαφνηφόρον*.

The firſt that came to receive an Oracle from them, was *Parnaffus*, from whence (ſome ſay) the place took its name, whereas before it was *Larnaffus* from *Λάραξ* *Deucalions Ark* that reſted there; *fides penes autorem*. As for *Tripus* (called by the Latines *Cortina*, whence *Cortimipotens* for *Apollo*, though *Prudentius* made it but the cover---tripodes *Cor-tina tegit*) It is thought by the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Lyſiſtrate* to have been *φιδαν* a Pot (as I told you before) with a wide mouth, and made of Braſſe, but filled with *ῥῆποι*, or *calculi*, *cuts* or Lottery-pellets (uſually put in ſuch pots) whereof thoſe that leapt out of the pot, (*ῥῆγοι*) or leapt and danced in it, when any one came to aſk, according to the ſignification they bare, made up the answer. But it is rather thought to have been a thing with three legs (after the faſhion of the common ſort of Tables) with a round cover like a table-board called *ῥαμ*, (as the table-boards were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called *ῥοαμ*, and his Wench *ῥοαμῖς*.

I wonder that ever people could ſo much looſe themſelves, as to go to her that would be ſure to put the buſineſſe in a greater queſtion by the answer, and make them more to ſeek than they were before. But that they were reſolved to be

fooled, because forsooth *Apollo* is λοξός *crooked* there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he must πλαγάζειν, be crabbed in his *delivery*, as well as in his *gate*. 'Tis his use

Senec. Ord.

Ambage nexâ Delphico mos est deo

Act. 2. Sc. 1.

Arcana tegere.

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiast upon *Æschylus*, οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῶν ἢ αἰνίγμασι μετέφασαν, in ancient time they made their verses in riddles. Now the Oracles were delivered commonly in verse, as he saies.

—dicta per carmina Sortes.

For *Sortes* they usually called them, and the Verse for the most part was *Hexameter*, insomuch that this Oracle,

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐεπίδης

Ἄνδρων ὅ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος,

Was thought, to be none of *Pythia's*, because it was not heroic enough to become the Author. *Plutarch* saies some were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpose in the Oracle place. μέγα καὶ θυμὸς δῖον ἀγρεῖα τοῖς χηισμοῖς περιέκοντες, to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verse. But one reason why they delivered their Oracles in verse, or in brief, and so commonly in obscurity, was because the god ἀφανίζειν μὴ ἔδειξει τὸ ἀληθές, not willing to conceal the truth altogether, nor yet desirous to make it known, was faine to have it delivered in such manner, as no body might take advantage to hurt the speaker, if that answer were not according to his mind. 'Tis true in later times it fell to prose (when it began to fall in the price) and the reason thereof has been sufficiently disputed already by *Plutarch* in a treatise of purpose.

Polynaus l.

2. 27.

The esteem, which they had of those Oracles, was such; that in times of Warre, when no other Divination could prevaile, it was an ordinary thing to faine an Oracle, to perswade the Souldiers to fight. For they might very well be of *Tiresias* his mind, who though he were an *Entral gazer* himself, yet in *Euripides* you shall have him confessing to *Creon*, that

that men were so apt to speak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill will, or for fear, or for favour, that there was little, or no credit to be given to any other Prophecy, besides Apollo's own.

—Φοῖβον ἀνδράποισι μόνον

Κρηθισμένον εἶναι, ὅς τις δίδικεν ἔσθλα.

And yet it is cleare, that the Woman or some body else was naught, and corrupted very often. Tully when he had thus commended her for a tell-troth, *nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuisset, neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atque regum, nisi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experta*, afterward comes in with a *Jamdiu idem non facit*. But indeed, she has not been thus along time. Nay for three hundred years (I think) before his time, Demosthenes could complain she did φιλιππίζειν, flatter and speak, as Philip would have her. Thus one time she was bribed by Clisthenes, to perswade the Lacedemonians to free the Athenians from the Tyranny; and another time by Cleomenes, to perswade them to deprive his Colleague Demaratus of his place. Neither would Lycophron call Apollo Κερδῶν θεόν for nothing.

Plutarch. de  
Herodot.

But you will say some other body might play the knave, and put it upon her. And likely enough. For so Cicero thinks they did in that answer reported to be given by Apollo to Pyrrhus, *Atto te Æacida Romanos vincere posse*. And that, First because Apollo did not speak in Latine. 2ly, Because none of the Greek writers mention any such thing. And 3ly, Because the Oracles were not given in verse in Pyrrhus his time.

L. 2. de Di-  
vin.

## C A P. II.

*De Templo Delphico, de Theoris, & Oraculi cessatione.*

**A**LL this while I have said nothing of the Temple, for feare of saying too little. So famous and so rich as it was with the gifts or ἀνιδέματα, of most of the Princes or people in the world (insomuch that Aphetoria opes, so said from



from *Ἀρήτωρ* the name of *Apollo*, who was *emissor Oraculorum*, hath been used as a proverb for *abundance of wealth*. I have read of *five* Temples erected in the same place at several times. The first was of *Laurell-boughs* fetcht from *Temple fields*. The second of *Wax and Feathers*; or else faigned to be made *ἐκ πτερόν* of wings, because the mans name was *Pteras* that built it. The third of *Brasse* (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minerva χαλκοῖνε*.) This, some say, was molten to ground; others, that it was swallowed up by the Earth-quake. The fourth, of *stone*, destroyed by fire the first year of the fifth *Glympiad*. The fifth, built by the *Amphyctions* out of the holy treasure in a very steep place, with but one narrow way for the entrance. More might be said concerning the temple, and the E. I. in the frontispiece, the reason whereof is disputed by a *Plutarch*, but I doubt there is too much already. I will proceed to the Customs, which the Athenians (the devoutest servants of *Apollo*) used in sending to him: either to *Delphos*, or to *Delos*, to do him honour, or to ask his advice. The occasion of sending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing some arduous affairs; or for delivery from sickness, or the like. When they went thither, they were said *ἀναβαίνειν*, when they returned again *καταβαίνειν*. The ceremonies used in sending Embassies *extraordinary* to *Delphos*, were neer the same with those that were *ordinarily* used in the *Delia-feast* once a year, and they were these. Those that were sent were called sometimes *θλιασταί*, from the feast, sometimes *δωροὶ* (like Hebrew *seers*) a name suitable to that of *Apollo Σχοπὸς* in *Pindar* (*Pith. γ.*) which some notwithstanding interpret to be his Index, or his *angel* the *Crow*. He that had the ordering of the business was called *ἀρχιδίωξ*. There were also sent along with them *Κήρυκες* *Μυστῆς*, two that were to be *ἐνδαστοι*, or *Eupulones* at *Delos* for that year. The ship in which they went, was first to be adorned with Garlands by the Priest of *Apollo*, and so were the messengers too on the head, the brow, and the neck, *πύθμηδες ἢ περιμεγῆς ψυχῆς*,  
in

*Pausan. in  
Phoc.*

*ἠρχὸς τῆς Ε.Ι.  
ἐν τῇ δελφοῖς*

*b 'Ξανδὰ δ'  
ἱστὶ μέντοι  
δάφνη καὶ  
πρὸς μέτω-  
πα.*

*Apollonius l.  
2. Argon.*

in allusion to the three parts of the soul. The ship was likewise called *Θεωεὶς*, and sometimes *Θηλιαῖς*. It was wont to be *Theseus* his, in which the Boyes were brought, that were to be paid to the *Minotaur*, at such time as returning from *Crete* to *Athens*, he instituted the plaies, and the solemnity celebrated by the aforesaid *Deliaſta*, when they came to *Delos*. This very ship the *Athenians* kept for his sake, till the time of *Demetrius Phalerens*, ὅτε καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐκ τῆς αὐξανομένων λόγον ἀμφιδέξ-  
μενον παρὰ δειγμα τὸ πλοῖον ἦν τῆς μὲν ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ, τῆς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ αὐτὸ  
διαμένει λεγόντων, *Insomuch* (saies *Plutarch*) that *Philosophors* use  
to illustrate that opinion, that the body remains still the same, not-  
withstanding continual decay, by this similitude. Besides this, *Tracyd. l. 5.*  
there were four more *naves sacra*, viz. the *Paralos*, *Antigomis*,  
*Ptolemais*, and *Ammonis*. The things that were sent for the  
keeping of the feast and the Sacrifice, were called *πομπαῖα*. For  
when they came thither, first they a Sacrificed : and then the  
Maids, sent thither from several places, fell a Dauncing a strange  
kind of daunce about the Altar, which they called *Γεγραυον*, *Gruet*  
the *Crane*: wherein, their motions being crooked like the  
Cranes-neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings and  
windings of the *Minotaur's* Labyrinth, beating the Altar, and  
biting at a bush of *Olives*, with their hands behind them (as  
our boys do at *snapple*) if so much be imported in the words  
of *Callimachus*.

ἂ Εμπόρεις  
τεκμαίεσθαι-  
νοι. apud  
*Pind. Olym.*  
H.

Πεῖν μέλαν ἢ σιὸ βωμὸν ὑπὸ πληγῆν ἐλιξαι,  
ῥησόμενον καὶ φέμενον ὁδοκτάσαι ἀγνὸν ἐλαίης  
Χεῖρας ἀποσρέψαντες, &c.

*Hymn. in*  
*Del.*

The Altar was *Κεράτιον* βωμὸς, and therefore called *Κερατῶν*  
because it was made by *Apollo* at four years old, of the  
horns of the Goats, which his sister *Diana* killed a hunting  
upon *Cynthus* hill. The horns were all of the left side, saith  
*Plut. in Theseo*. And yet in his book *de Solertia Animalium*,  
'tis τῆς δεξιῶν. Whether it should be rendered of the right side,  
or right, that is, fit or handsome, I know not. But so strangely  
were

were these hornes joyned together without any Cement, glue, or tye, that it was reckoned for one of the seven strange sights  
 'Εν τοῖς ἑπτα καλεμένοις θαύμασι as *Ovid* saies,

*Mirror & innumeris structam de cornibus aram.*

During all these holy dayes no malefactor was to suffer punishment. By which meanes *Socrates* had the hap to be reprieved for thirty dayes, ἕως αὖν ἡ θεοεία ἐν Δήλῳ ἐπαγέλθῃ, saith *Xenophon*. When the *Theori* returned, they came with their Garlands about them, and the People ranne all forth to meet them, opening their doores, and making obeisance as they passed by, which made him complaine so in *Euripides*.

οὐ γὰρ τις μ' ὡς θεῶν ἀξιοῖ δοῦν

In *Hippol.*

Πύλας ἀροίξας εὐφρόνως προσενέπειν.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to cease, is uncertaine: Some say, *Alexander* put it down. But it appears to have flourished after his time. *Plutarch* thinks it ceased as soon as men had wit enough to advise themselves, without seeking to him that made it his businesse to couzen them, *Dion* saies, it was *Nero* murdered the men at the hole. When it left *Delphos* it went

a *Pulcher A-* to the a *Hyperborean Scythians*: for *Abaris* a Scythian one of  
 pollo *Lustrat* *Apollo's* Priests, wrote a book of his Oracles, and his coming  
*Hyperboreas* thither. The *Athenians* when all Greece was infected with  
*Delphis ces-* the Plague, had an Oracle from thence, to make vowes and  
 santibus a- prayers in the name of the rest. And it was their fashion to  
 ras. *Clandi-* send gifts and offerings thither, as they had done to *Delphos*.  
 an. But what need we doubt of the time or the cause, since we  
 doubt not of that which *Prudentius* asserts,

— *Ex quo hominis Deus induit artus,*

*Delphica damnatis tacuerunt sortibus antra.*

*Non Tripodas Cortina tegit, non spumat anhelus*

*Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.*

*Perdidit insanos mendax Dodona vapores*

*Nec responsa refert Lybicis in Syrtibus Ammon.*



The Oracle place, (τὸ ἀνὰ κτεον or χησίων) of *Jupiter Hammon*, is thought to have been at first a kind of *School* for the family of *Cham*, or *Ham*, but afterward abused by the Divell to this delusion of *Oracles*. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almost inaccessible for *heat*, as that place at Delphos was for *height*. *Dodona's Grove* is thought to have been such another *School*, viz. for the off-spring of *Dodonaim*, Nephew to *Japhet*. But for this there is a Fable of a pair of Doves, that should come from *Egypt*, one of which pitcht upon a Beech-tree in *Epirus*, and there using the voice of a man, among other good instructions, gave order for the building of a Temple in that place; which was done by *Deucalion* after his ship came thither (while I speak of these things, I cannot but think upon *Noah* and his Ark, and his Dove) besides the building of the City *Dodona*, nigh unto which this Oracle was. These two Oracles are reckoned the most ancient of all, and of these two, the last. τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον εἴπετο νερόμυται ἀρχαῖότατον ὅς ἐστιν Ἑλλήσι χησίων. And therefore a word or two more of it than I thought. It is conceived by most, that those *Doves* were certain Women-priests or Prophets, fetcht from *Egypt* (the Mart of superstition) by the *Phanicians* first, and from them convey'd into *Thessaly*. Now in the *Thessalian* language, the same word which signifies a Dove, is used also to signify a Prophetesse, ἡ πελάς. *Eustathius* saies, that in the *Thessalian* tongue old Women were called *παιαὶ*, and old Men *παιῶν*, In II. ξ. and that those Prophetesses being three old women, whose names were *Promenia*, *Timarate*, and *Nicandre*, either by mistake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commonly supposed to be Doves. The same Author also saies, that perhaps those women being *Barbarians* (whom the Greeks would scarce allow to be men and women) for their rude brutish language might have been counted as so many birds. But it seems to have been no such strange thing in ancient times, for Prophetesses to have the name of Doves. And therefore *Lycophron*

Phron calls *Cassandra* by the name  $\Phi\delta\omega\alpha$  *Palumbes*: though in another place she have the name of a more rattling Bird, viz.  $\Phi\omicron\iota\beta\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\pi\theta$   $\chi\epsilon\lambda\iota\delta\omega\gamma$  the Swallow, The Scholiast upon *Sophocles* (in his *Trachiniae*) hath another conjecture more besides that which I named last, viz. That these Prophetesses had the name of  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ : or rather, if you will, the old women therefore had the name of  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\alpha\iota$ , because they were  $\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$  gray haired and aged.

*Strabo* speaks of four Priests called  $\text{Ἐλλοὶ ἀπὸ ἐλῶν τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱεῶν}$ , from the *fens* neer the Temple, viz. of *Jupiter* surnamed *Tomurus*, which was a name common also to the Priests, *Homer* calls them  $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$ , saying

— ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοῖ

$\text{Ναίουσιν δ' ὑποφῆται ἀντιπόδες χαμαὶ ἔουσιν.}$

They used to wash their feet, and lay upon the ground when they slept. When they gave answer, they got them amid'st the boughs, and so the Oracle was thought to come from the Oaks, when it came but from between them. They are called  $\omega\rho\sigma\eta\rho\epsilon\iota$   $\delta\rho\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ , and  $\mu\alpha\upsilon\pi\kappa\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\iota$   $\delta\rho\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ , and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lychophron* called  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\omega\gamma$   $\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega\omega\gamma$ . Round about the Temple stood Basins of Brasse, one just against the other  $\pi\epsilon\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\kappa\omega\gamma$   $\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\gamma$ , saith *Eustathius*, of which if you struck but one, all the rest would cry, and make such a noyse, that at length *Es Dodonæum* became a proverb. Pelike they used to strike these Basons as they used to do other Basons and Pots, with a ring held by a thread in the hand, and striking the sides of the vessel so many times, to make a Divination by the sounds.

a Caco To-  
muri jovis  
augurelucio  
Arbore pra-  
sag à tabulas  
animâsse Lo-  
quaces.  
Claudian.

C A P. III.

De Divinatione per somnium, super Melotas in  
Templis, cum observatione diæta

PROphesying by a *Dream*, was either *ὄνειρος*, *Somniatoris*,  
of a *Dreamer of Dreams*, or *ὄνειρος* *Conjectoris*, of  
an *Interpreter of Dreams*, such as *Hecuba* spake of, when she  
said *ὡς μοι κρινώ τοῖς ὄνειροις*. The latter of these surely belongs  
to the *technicall* part of *divination*, and may be reckoned for  
an *Art*, as well as any other sort of *Ariolation*. For he that  
shall object that speaking but *sometimes* true, does not argue  
skill, because *si sepe jactaveris, quandoq; venerem jacies*, in *Ci-  
cero's* opinion may be answered with this question, *Qua* Lib. 1. Divin.  
*tandem id ars non habet?* Besides if it were no *Art*, what talk  
we of *Xenophon's* Dreams in his service with *Cyrus*; or how  
came it, that there were so many books written of this sub-  
ject? For, to say nothing of a eleven more that wrote of pur-  
pose of it, nor of the Treatise *ὅτι ἐνυπνίων* reported by *Plu-  
tarch* to be found among *Mithridates* his books, *Artemon* a Hadr. Jun.  
*Milesius* wrote two and twenty books of it himself; and animad.  
there is a very pretty copy of about fourscore *Senarii* Verses b In Pompeio.  
in Greek, touching the signification of such or such a sight  
in a *Dream*. But the dream (you must understand) was not  
every *ὄναρ*, or *vain dream* (for so does the Etymology im-  
port. *ὄναρ* τὸ ὅτι ὄντ' ἀληθὺς ἔστιν, saies *Eustathius*) but *ὄναρ*,  
or *ὄνειρος*, a *morning dream*, fresh and fasting; such as *ὄναρ* is,  
faith c *Homer*, which they derive *ὄναρ* ἵπνου ἄραιας, which c Οὐκ ὄναρ  
comes about waking time, or *ὄνειρος*, which they derive *ὄναρ* αἰλ' ὑπαρ  
τὸ ὅτι ὄντ' ἔστιν, and of such is that of *Orphans* in the *Hymn*: ἐδλὸν ὅτι  
*Ἀγγελε μιλόντων θνητοῖς χροσμοῖ δὲ μέγιστε*. I believe few that τελεσμέγον  
read me are such as *Plutarch's* *Thrasymede*, or *Plinies* *Atlan-  
tes*, that never dreamt of a dream, and therefore I will make *Hom. Odysf.*  
bold to detain them the longer. It is variously conjectured T.  
X x 2 who



*Lib. 7.* who was the first conjectour in this kind. <sup>a</sup> *Pliny* saies, *Amphy-*  
*Cap. 5.* *Etyon*, *Dencalion's* son; *Philo Judæus*, *Abraham*; *Trogus Pom-*  
*peius*, *Joseph*; *Pausanias* would have it to be *Amphiarans*, whom  
 he reports to have been deified for his skill; and that they used  
 to sacrifice to him, when they looked for a dream. They talk  
 that the people that lived neer *Borysthenes*, and the *Gades*, were  
 excellent at this work; and so were those that lived at the  
<sup>b</sup> *Hible*, two Cities so named in *Sicily*. But among all, the old  
 doting Women were best at it.

<sup>b</sup> *Pausan.* *E-*  
*liac.*

*Propertius*

*Lib. 2. El. 4.*

*Quæ mihi non decies somnia versat anus.*

When they desired to dream a propheticall dream, some-  
 times they would sacrifice a Ram to *Amphiarans*, and sleep  
 upon the fleece. For thus the *Daunii* used to do in the Tem-  
<sup>c</sup> *Evayλισσι* <sup>δ</sup> *ple* of <sup>c</sup> *Chalchas*. So likewise the *Calabri* used their *melote*  
<sup>a</sup> *ωπὸς μίλανα* *sheep-skins*, or fleeces, to sleep upon at the Sepulchre of *Podali-*  
<sup>α</sup> *ρίον διμαν-* *rins*. And it seems, it was a common practise both for dreaming;  
<sup>τ</sup> *δόμνοι* <sup>ε</sup> *for* *Virgil* also saies,

*κοιμώμενοι*

*ἐν τῷ Νέμαν*

*Strabo l. 6.*

*— Caesarum ovium sub nocte silenti*

*Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosq; petivit.*

And also for purifying a polluted person in the *Eleusinian* and  
 other sacrifices: for they took the skins of beasts that had  
 been sacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of  
<sup>Δ</sup> *δὸς κώδρα*) and laid them under their feet. Nay there was  
 no small use of fleeces and skins in several other businesses;  
 as in Mourning, and at Weddings, when the Wife (as I  
 told you) sat upon a fleece for a cushion, to shew her pur-  
 pose *Lanificio intendere* of spinning and carding. The *Scythi-*  
*ans* play'd mad tricks with skins. For among them, if a man  
 had been wronged, and had need of help to revenge him-  
 self, he would sacrifice an Ox, and cut the flesh into pieces  
<sup>Cal. Rodig.</sup> and boyl it, and sit upon the skin with his hands behind  
 him, and so beg for help. Then come his friends, and eve-  
 ry one taking a piece of the flesh, and setting his right foot  
 on the skin, promised either men or arms, or what he  
 best could. Such ceremonies as these, they accounted a fast  
 engage-

engagement, and much conducing to the successe. Sometimes they would go and sleep in a Temple with Laurel, or some such fatidical stuff tyed about their heads, and sacrifice to a *Brizo*, the goddesse of the *dreamers*, so called from *Βρίζειν* *αὐτῇ δὲ ὄνειρον ἐν ὑπνῷ* to sleep. The Lacedemonians kept men of purpose to sleep in the Temple of *Pasitheia*, to watch for dreams. So if any were sick they would go and sleep in the Temple of *Æsculapius*, to dream of a remedy, (as they have used to do with us, to go watch at the Church door, to know who shall dye next) *Pluto* in *Aristophanes* did so,

Κατεκλίνομεν τ' πλεῖστον, ὥσπερ ἥχος ἦν.

And the like was wont to be done in Ægypt in the Temple of *Serapis*. But *Juvenal* has sufficiently declared the vanity of all this doings in saying,

*Non delubra deum, nec ab æthere numina mittunt  
Sed sibi quisque facit.*

Sat. 6.

Besides all this they took a special care of their diet, so as to fast for one day before, and abstain from wine for three; as likewise to forbear eating Beans or raw fruit. *Aristotle* saies there is no credit to be giuen *οἱ δὲ πρὸς πρῶτον ἐνυπνίους*, to dreams in the Autumn. But *Plutarch* questions that again, and saies if we eat good and ripe fruit, *ἢ ἢ ὅταν ἀπατηλοῖς, καὶ ψεύδεσσιν ἐνυπνίους σύνεσθαι*, our dreams will be the truer. Fish, either they counted very good, or very bad. For when they sacrificed to *Brizo*, they offered boats full of all manner of things but Fish; whether it were to please the goddesse with the sparing of the best thing, or the rejection of the worst, I cannot tell. *Plutarch* observes that the head of a *Polypus* is *Cal. Rhod.* as sower in the dream, as 'tis sweet in the tast: and therefore *l. 27. c. 10.* compares Poetry to it, when it is not moderately used. Some choice there was also of the colour of their Cloaths. For the whitest and clearest was best, *σολὺν λευκὸν κάλλιστον ἐν ὑπνῷ φέρειν*, saies *Suidas*: as if Dreams and Visions must needs be the clearer. The truest dreams (*ἐνδοονειρίας*) or the clearest visions, were either a little after it was day, or toward the

ἄνε δὲ ἐναρ- morning (the former time a *Homer* calls νυκτὸς ἀμολγόν, the  
 γὰρ ὄνειρον ἐ- milking time in the Morning, in opposition to ἡμέρας ἀμολγός  
 πίοσις νυκ- the milking time in the evening)

ἦ δὲ ἀμολγῶ.

— ἔγρυθε δ' ἠώς

*Odyss.* δ.

Εὐτε καὶ ἀπὸ κέων ποιμαίνεται ἔθιγον ὄνειρων.

b Namque sub  
 aurora jam dor-  
 mitantelucerna

Tempore quo

cerni somnia

vera solent:

saies *Theocritus*: and b *Ovid* was of the same mind. *Pliny* saies  
 a dream is never true presently after eating and drinking. But  
*Artemidorus* saies it is all one for that, ἐπεὶ αἱ ἀμεῖς ἔφασι δὲ  
 πρὸς τῇ ἑσπέρῃ παρῆχουσιν ἰδεῖν τὸ ἀληθές, for if you eat too much, the  
 dream will never be the truer if it tarry till morning.

#### CAP. IV.

##### De duabus portis.

*Odyss.* τ.

SO great a difference there was in Dreams, that they were  
 fain to make two distinct doors for them to come in by,  
 one of Horn, and another of Ivory. For thus much *Penelope*  
 her self could tell *Ulysses* (when she desired him to interpret  
 her dreams)

Δοιαὶ γὰρ τε πύλαι ἀμειννῶν εἰσὶν ὄνειρων

Αἱ μὲν γὰρ κερβεσσι πεδύχασαι, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι.

In *Ephemer.*

*Ansonius* saies as much; telling you which are the true, and  
 which the false,

*Et geminas unnumera portas quæ fornice eburno*

*Semper fallaces glomerant super aëra somnos,*

*Altera quæ veros emittit cornea visus.*

And I have heard of some Christians that have believed the  
 same. *Philostratus* saies, that in allusion to these doors, they  
 used to picture a dream with a white garment upon a black, and  
 a horn in his hand. The door for the true dreams was of  
 Horn.

Ἀπλὰ γὰρ ἑρῶσκοντα δὲ εὐκαρέα πύλαι ἦν.

*Nonnus di-*  
*on.* δ.

(Surely this was made of the horns of the Ram when  
 they slept upon the fleece. Of which before) the door for  
 the



the false and deceitful dreams, was of Ivory, such as that where-  
with *Morrhæus* was cozened with in the Poet,

Μόρρεα δ' ἰονόεντα παρήπαφεν ὄψις ὀνείρου

Κλεψύγων ἐλέφαντ' ἀναίξασα πύλαων

Nonn.

*Lician* therefore jeers the coverous *Miscyllus* for wish-  
ing his *dream-door* were of *Gold*, whereas there were but  
those two in all, as may be gathered by these words in a *Plato*.

Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὄναρ εἴτε διὰ κεράτων εἴτε δι' ἐλέφαντ' ἐλήλυθεν.

<sup>a</sup> In Char-  
mide.

The reasons of those names, I find very prettily guessed at  
by the Scholiast upon *Homer* at the place above commended ;  
and I shall desire your patience to tell them. First, the true

(saies he) comes by the Horn-door, or ἐκ κέρατ' : because

τὰ ἔτυμα κεραινυσι, or κεραινυσι, that is, effectum reddunt, they say

no more then comes to passe, whereas those that come in by

the Ivory-door, or ἐξ ἐλέφαντ', ἐλεφαίρονται or ἐλπαίρονται,

delude the dreamer with a fruitlesse hope of truth. 2ly, κε-

ρατὶν ὀπβολή, the coming in by the Horn is as much as com-

ing cleerly, for one may see through horn, if it be made

thin. ἐλεφαντίνην, the other confusedly, for one cannot see

through Ivory, nor any other such white things, as milk or

the like, if they be never so little, and so *Macrobius* does

Interpret<sup>b</sup> it too. 3ly, By the κέρας is meant the eye, by the

figure *Synecdoche*, or κεραιοειδὲς χιτῶν, cornea tunica, the first

coat of the eye. And by the ἐλέφας the mouth, or the Ivory-

coloured teeth, ἐλεφαντόχωτες ὀδόντες: and so the meaning must

be, that which is to be seen with the eye is likelier, then that

which is but said to be so from the teeth. And this was also the

opinion of *Servius* concerning the same fiction, upon those words

of *Virgil*,

Sunt Gemina somni porta, &c.

4ly, By the Horn-door, may be meant the passage for

the more Heavenly and Diviner sort of dreams, ἐρᾶνιοι ὀνείρα, à vero hebetat

or διόπεμπτοι: by the other, the entrance for the χθόνιοι: the

more earthly, grosse, and confused, Because the Elephants

*Proboscis* turns downward towards the earth, whereas the

horns *Scip*.

<sup>b</sup> Speaking of  
sleep saies he.  
Hoc velamen  
cum in quiete  
ad verum usq;  
acit anima in-  
trospectientia ad-  
mittit. de cornu  
creditur, cujus  
ista natura est,  
ut tenuatam  
visui pervium  
sit, cum autem  
ac repellit, obtu-  
scatur putatur  
cujus &c. l. c. 3.  
in Somnium

ἄνεσις ἐν ἑσπέρῃ - morning (the former time a *Homer* calls νυκτὸς ἀμολγόν, the  
 γὰρ ὄνειρον ἐν - milking time in the Morning, in opposition to ἡμέρας ἀμολγόν  
 πᾶσι τοῖς νυκτ - the milking time in the evening)

Ἰδὲ ἀμολγῶ.

*Odyss.* δ.

b Namque sub  
 aurora jam dor-  
 mitantelucernâ  
 Tempore quo  
 cerni somnia  
 vera solent:

saies *Theocritus*: and b *Ovid* was of the same mind. *Pliny* saies  
 a dream is never true presently after eating and drinking. But  
*Artemidorus* saies it is all one for that, ἐπεὶ αἱ ἀμεῖς ἔφασι ἐν  
 ὥρῃ τῇ ἐσπέρῃ παρῆχουσιν ἰδεῖν τὸ ἀληθές, for if you eat too much, the  
 dream will never be the truer if it tarry till morning.

#### CAP. IV.

##### *De duabus portis.*

*Odyss.* τ.

SO great a difference there was in Dreams, that they were  
 fain to make two distinct doors for them to come in by,  
 one of Horn, and another of Ivory. For thus much *Penelope*  
 her self could tell *Ulysses* (when she desired him to interpret  
 her dreams)

Δοῖαι γὰρ τε πύλαι ἀμειννῶν εἰσὶν ὄνειρων  
 αἱ μὲν γὰρ κερταῖσι πετάχονται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντε.

*In Ephemer.*

*Ansonius* saies as much; telling you which are the true, and  
 which the false,

*Et geminas numero portas quæ fornice eburno  
 Semper fallaces glomerant super aëra somnos,  
 Altera quæ veros emittit cornea visus.*

And I have heard of some Christians that have believed the  
 same. *Philostatus* saies, that in allusion to these doors, they  
 used to picture a dream with a white garment upon a black, and  
 a horn in his hand. The door for the true dreams was of  
 Horn.

Ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπέρων δὲ ἐκκεῖται πύλαι ὄνειρων.

*Nonnus di-*  
*on.* δ.

(Surely this was made of the horns of the Ram when  
 they slept upon the fleece. Of which before) the door for  
 the

the false and deceitful dreams, was of Ivory, such as that where-  
with *Morheus* was cozened with in the Poet,

Μόρρεα δ' ἰσνῶντα παρήπαρεν ὄψις ὀνείρου  
Κλεψιδρόων ἐλέφαντ' ἀναΐξασα πυλάων

Nonn.

*Lician* therefore jeers the covetous *Micyllus* for wish-  
ing his dream-door were of Gold, whereas there were but  
those two in all, as may be gathered by these words in a *Plato*.

Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄναρ εἴτε διὰ κεράτων εἴτε δι' ἐλέφαντ' ἐλήλυθεν.

<sup>a</sup> In Char-  
mide.

The reasons of those names, I find very prettily guessed at  
by the Scholiast upon *Homer* at the place above commended;  
and I shall desire your patience to tell them. First, the true

(saies he) comes by the Horn-door, or ἐκ κέρατ' : because

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coloured teeth, ἐλεφαντῶ χρωτὲς ὀδόντες: and so the meaning must

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Sleep saies he.

Hoc velamen

cum in quiete

ad verum usq;

acit anima in-

terspicienti ad-

mittit. de cornu

creditur, cuius

ista natura est,

ut tenuatam

visui pervium

fit. cum autem

ac repellit, obtu-

scum. ebur putatur

cuius &c. l. c. 3.

in Somnium  
horns Scip.



horns of other beasts look upward toward Heaven. ὅς, ἑλκ-  
 παρτῶ, is the door for the false dreams, because there can be  
 no other but false dreams expected, when the teeth have eaten  
 too much.

The Guests which are to come in by these doors, were  
 thought to be Ghosts and Spirits from hell. Umbra, shadows  
 they might well be: and such as ascend in a fume too, like Fu-  
 ries from the nether part of the body. Again as Ghosts are

a Homer.  
 Odyss. 4.

— δῆμῳ ὄνερων, said to fly in and out like dreams,  
 and death is a sleep: so dreams are said to fly in and out like  
 Ghosts, and sleep is a death. Lychophron calls them νυκτίφοιτα  
 δαίματα, Night-walking-Bug-bears. Fly they did with black-  
 wings, like Batts of the night; and therefore Euripides  
 calls a dream μελαροπτερυγον, Orpheus τανυσπτερον, Lucian  
 πτηνόν. If this be so, the reason why before they went to bed,  
 when they meant to dream, they used to sacrifice a Victim  
 to Mercury, was, it may be, not so much because of his rod,  
 with which he brought people a sleep, and awakened them  
 again, as because he was Gentleman-usher of the Ghosts:  
 for what reason soever it was, it seems Mercury was most  
 in their minds when they were ready to sleep: and there-  
 fore as at feasts, so at other times, the last of their prayers  
 was to him, and the last health that went round was his. For  
 so we find Calasiris in Heliodorus, ὅτι πᾶσιν &c. After he had  
 prayed to all the rest of the gods, calling upon Mercury for  
 εὐδνειν νύκτα, a night of good dreams. Hence was it that they  
 used to fasten τὰς ἐμᾶς, Images of Mercury to their beds feet,  
 which from thence had the name of Ἑρμῖνες. When they sa-  
 crificed that victim, they used to take the tongue and burn  
 it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all  
 tongues and speech to be consecrated. ὡς σὺ λέγειν καὶ Ἑρμηνείας  
 ἰφθίμῳ, saies the Scholiast upon Aristophanes. With whom  
 agrees Athenæus, προσέμονται ἢ ἀπὸ αἱ γλώσσαι διὰ τὴν Ἑρμι-  
 νείαν. Others who did not think dreams to be Ghosts, yet  
 would have them to be put into the head by Spirits, as

L. 3.  
 Suidas.

bq. on Odyss.  
 12.

c Plut.

Plato

Plato who thought the air to be full of such things. And so *Democritus* (as the Scholiast reports, who saies that he had it from *Homer* himself) thought that men dreamt this or that dream  $\kappa\tau\iota$  ἄσκεισιν ἢ ἐμπήωσιν, or (as a *Plutarch* has it from the same man)  $\kappa\tau\iota$  ἀφ' αἰσθητικῶν ἢ εἰδώλων, according to this composition, or separation of Images, or Ghosts, or phancies, or somewhat. But indeed I think those εἰδῶλα, should not be so much Images as Imaginations, nor so much umbra Ghosts, as adumbrationes, Images and Species in the phancy proceeding from the spirits within, and not from those without.

C A P. V.

*De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum lustratione.*

FOR their descent, they thought all dreams to have one common mother the *Earth*.  $\chi\theta\omega\upsilon\upsilon$  μήτηρ ὀνείρων, saies *Empirides*. And the Scholiast upon him gives the reason, ἐκ γῆς αἰσθητικῶν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς τροφῆς οἱ ὕπνοι, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὕπνου οἱ ὀνείροι, because from the earth comes meat, from meat sleep, and from sleep dreams. Some indeed thought, they were from *Hecate*, (and so they may come from the earth still.) And some from the *Moon*, which was all one, and suited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the Kind, of dreams, *Macrobius* makes five, viz. 1. Φαντασμα, 2. Ἐνύπσιον, 3. Ὀνείριον, 4. Ὀραμα, 5. Χρηματισμὸς. Others divided them into ἀλληγορικὰς, and θεωρηματικὰς ὀνείρους, θεωρηματικοὶ, were οἱ τῇ ἑαυτῶν διὰ φανταστικότες, when things appeared in their own likeness. Ἀλληγορικοὶ were when they appeared in the likeness of other things; when one thing was dreamt and another meant. Such as *Cæsars* was, when he dreamt he lay with his Mother, and so was informed *Imperium orbis terre potendi, quæ cunctorum viventium sit mater*, that the whole earth, the mother of every living thing was to be under him. Nay the distinction of dreams was so accurate,

Y y

curate,

curate, that in the making of them, *Somnus* was fained to have no lesse than three servants to wait upon him. For if he would have a dream that should concern *men*, he made use of *Morpheus*, *Ovid. Met.* if *beasts*, of *Phobetor* (as *men* called him) or *Icolog* (as the gods called him) *l. 12. f. 10.* *Fit fera, fit volucris* —

if inanimate creatures (*Quæ vacant animâ* —)

of him that had the name of *Phantasos* (I wonder how he could remember all the shapes, and the river of *Lethe* spring in his house, and his house be as dark as a den, as any among the *Cimmerii*, for so it is fained to be.)

But after all this doting about a dream, is there any remedy, if I meet with any of the best? Yes by all means, as soon as I *Propert. l. 2.* arise, be sure to tell it to *Vesta*, or some other household stuff, *Eleg. 29.* *diis penetribus.*

*Vadit & hinc casta narratum somnia Vesta*

*Quæ sibi, quæque mihi non nocitura forent.*

Or if you think this too little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apollo avertuncus*, called by them *Ἰαπετιεύς*, *Ἰαχιστεύς*, or *Ἰαπετιεύς*, because his Image used to stand in the Porches. Some had rather to do it to *Hercules*, and some to *Jupiter*, as he does in *Plautus*. But there is better reason why they should do it to the *Sun*, viz. *Ἰνα ἐπειδὴ ἐναντίος ἐστὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἀποτροπῶν ἐπαρξήσῃαι, &c.* Because the *Sun* being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expel all evils brought by the same. They are the words of the Scholiast upon that of *Sophocles* — *ἡλίου δεινυσι τέναρ &c.* They called this action *ἀποτροπή*, *ἐπαρξήσῃαι*, *ἐποδιστομπεῖλαι*, and *ἐποτρέπειν* *ἐννυχον ὄν*, but most properly *ἐποτροπιάζειν* τῇ *ἡλίῳ*. It was practised by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when she had dreamt of the fall of the house: although she (or the Poet, had so much wit as to think it to be to little purpose.

*Idem in*

*Taur. v. 43.*

*Ἄρα γὰρ δ' ἡκεὶ νύξ φέρουσα φάσματα*

*λέξω πρὸς αὐτὴν ἢ πρὸς τὸ δ' ἐς δὲ καὶ.*

If you think that this will not do neither, try a third remedy, go make a prayer and wash your self lustily in the



the cold River till you sweat.

— *Sub lucem ut visa secudent.*

*Oro calicolas, & vivo purgor in amne.*

Or if the River water be not good enough, go to the fountain, as he did in \* *Æschylus*.

*Sil. Ital. l. 8.*

\* *In Persis.*

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνέστω καὶ χερσὶν καλλιρρόῃ  
Ἐψαυσα πηγῆς σὺν θυηπόλῳ χεῖ  
Βωμῷ προσέστω σποδῶταίσι δαίμοσιν  
Θέλωσα δύσαι πύλανον.

If you think no cold water will do it, call for *hot*, as he does in *Aristophanes*.

— ἐκ ποτέμων δρόσον ἄρατε  
Θέρμετε δ' ὕδωρ  
Ὡς αὖ θεὸν ὄνταρον σποχλύσω.

*In Raris.*

But perhaps no kind of fresh water is strong enough; you may do well therefore to try in the *Sea*, for there they used to wash away not only the evil of a dream, but of a crime, or disease, or any thing else: for 'tis reported that *Empirides* when he went with *Plato* into *Egypt*, being troubled with the falling-sickness, was bid by the Priest, to bath himself in the sea, and being by that means cured, he presently gave this commendation of it,

Θάλασσα καλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακὰ.

So I remember *Plutus* in the Poet is led to the Sea, for recovery of his sight. After murder (for other sins they scarce thought great enough, to cost hot water) it was a common practise; and then no fear of the displeasure of a god for the future.

λυμαδ' ἀγνίσας ἐμὰ  
Μῆνην βαρύναν ὀζαλεύσομαι δαΐς.

## SECT. II.

*De Divinatione artificiosa, & primo de Ornithomantiâ.*

**T**HE Technical part of Divining, *artificiosum genus divinandi*, as *Cicero* calls it, consisted especially in the observing of birds, and the Entralls of Beasts. Besides which were *φῆμαι* or *κληδόνες* ominous words, or things, *σύμβολα ἐνόδια*, *κληροί* lots, *τέγιστα* sights, and indeed *ἔτετα μύεα* (as the Scholiast saith upon *Homer*) infinite many more: but the two first were every where most in use. *Qua est autem gens, aut qua civitas, qua non aut extis pecudum aut Augurum, aut sortium prædictione moveatur?* In the first the *Phrygians*, *Cicilians*, *Arabians*, *Pisidians*, and the *Umbrians* excelled. The *Lacedemonians* had so great esteem of it, that every King had his Augur to advise him, as well as the Senate. It was first invented, (saith *Pliny*) by one *Car*. *Auguria ex avibus invenit Car, à quo Caria nomen habet: adjecit ex ceteris animalibus Orpheus*. Improv'd it was very much by *Calchas*: so that he proved exceeding usefull to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only shewing them how they should pacify *Diana* detaining the ships at *Aulis*, and *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Pestilence, but telling the number of years that the war should last, by the number of Sparrows destroyed by the Serpent in the nest, as *Cicero* renders the verses.

Il. A.

Cicer. l. I.  
Divin.

L. 7. c. 55.

Il. 6.

*Nam quot aves tetro mactatas dente videtis*

*Tot nos ad Trojam belli exantlabimus annos*

*Qua decimo cadet, & pœnâ satiabit Achivos.*

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for grief, because he could not tell how many Pigs were in the belly of a Sow

(say

(say some) or how many Figs upon the Fig-tree (saith Hesiod) which Mopsus, with whom he contested, was able to tell. The name they called it by was. ὀρνιθομανεῖα, or διωνιστική. It was διωνιστική at first with an omicron, according to Plato, as being ἐν τῷ γῆ καὶ διαροίαι ποιέζωμένη ἀνθρώπων ὀνήσει: but now (saith Aristides) they write it with omega τὸ ὦ σημεινόντες, to give the better grace to the word: and it is still used as the old word was, for any kind of divination; as ὄρνις, and διωνὺς a bird, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the Greeks it was the Augur's fashion to wear a white garment (whereas it was Purple, or Scarlet, among the Latines) and to have his διωνυστήριον his place and his seat appointed for the purpose, τὸ δῶκευ, or δῶκευ.

Εἰς γὰρ πάλαιον δῶκεον ὀρνιθοσκοπέυε Ἴζον. Saies he in Sophocles. And the Scholiast upon the words δῶκευ in Euripides saies, it was a place made in Thebes, where Tiresias used to sit and divine. When they went to it οἱ διωνοσκοποὶ ἐν δέλτοις ἀνημεῖον τοὺς πηήσεις (saith the same Scholiast) doubting their memory might not suffice, they carried their Table-books with them, and wrote down the name, and the flight of the Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. This and the seeing too Tiresias being blind, and only able to fore-see, and judge of things as they were told him, was fain to have his daughter to do for him: by which means she her self at length, after the death of her father, became very famous at Thebes for her skill in the art. Yea not only the habit of the Greek Augures, but their manner of observing was different from other peoples. Quid, quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis signis? Aliter observant, aliter respondent, saies Cicero. The Greeks accounted the right side the luckiest, Graiis & Barbaris dextra meliora: the Romans the left. Although (to speak the truth) the side was the same, only the posture of the Augures was different. For the Grecians looked towards the North, and the Romans toward the south; and the word sinistra for lucky or good signs, came not so much à sinistra manu from the

In Antigon.

L. 2.



the hands being left; as a *sinendo*, from the man's being left to his pleasure to set upon his enterprize if he would. So saies *Festus*: and *Cicero* thus, *Quonquam haud ignoro quae bona sunt sinistra nos dicere, etiamsi dextra sint*. But yet this was the manner of speech, viz. For the Greeks, to call the lucky tokens alwaies a *δεξιά* right (and therefore *Statius* may seem to have mistaken, when he spake of Grecian Augury,

a Ζεὺς δὲ  
φθιν προΐδης  
ἐνδεῖα σήμα-  
τα φαίνει,  
Saies Ajax  
Hom. II. 10.  
b Theb.

Eurip. Hip-  
pol. v. 934.

b *Signa feras leusque tones* —) the Romans some-  
times *dextra*; and sometimes *leva*; but the one *more suo*, and  
the other *more Graco*. Unluckie birds (a word used among  
us for an unhappy wag) they called *ἄεωκαίμεις*, or *ἄεδοι*, when  
they fled not, or pitch not in their usual height or place. This  
last word puts me in mind of that saying of *Hippolitus* perhaps  
in allusion to it.

ἐκκλήσονται με

Λόγαι ὁμιλῶντες ἐξέδοι φρενῶν.

Sometimes they are called *σποδυμοί*, or *καλυτικοί* *inhiba*, *ἐκκ-  
τιοί* *arcula*, and *ἀνχέλιοι* (as in c *Apollonius*) ab *ἐκω* *cedo*, as  
who would say *non sinistra*, or *non sinemia*; as I told you be-  
fore. And such they commonly counted those that had long  
talons or scratcht their heads as they fled; such (as they say)  
were seen upon *Cassius* his Tent before his defeat: the La-  
tines call them *Volsgras*. But what? is there no *amuletum*, nor  
remedy against a few paltry birds? yes, I have read in *Apu-  
leius* of a trick to kill one or two of the worse sort, and hang  
them up at the door: as we use to do dead Crows upon  
a stick in the field, to scare the living away: Saies he, *Istas  
nocturnas aves cum penetraverint Larem quempiam, sollicitè  
prehensas foribus videmus affigi, ut quod infansis volatibus fa-  
milia minantur, exitium suis luan cruciatibus*. Birds that were  
lucky either in their nature, or the place they appeared in,  
were called *αἰσίοι*, or *ὀδίοι*, that is, such as were not *ἄεδοι* (un-  
scatty, or unsightly as we use to say) but appeared *παμπρέποις  
ἐν ἔδεσσι*, (as d *Æschylus* has it) in their proper sphear or seat,  
such they counted Doves, and the *οἰστὴ* in matters of Love:  
as

ἐκέρκον αἰε-  
τὸς ἐφορμαί-  
νοντα καὶ χα-  
λαῖς κέρα  
σίλλοντα.  
Saies Æ-  
schylus.

Metam. li. 3  
d Ὀρνι ἰδὼν  
τινὰ ἐκ ἐν  
αἰσίοις ἔ-  
φραις. Eurip.  
in Hec,

as they did the Cocks, if they kept a continual crowing, in matters of War. For hereupon the Augures once foretold the Thebans a victory, *Propterea quod avis illa victa filere so- leret, canere, si vicisset.* Cock-fightings indeed were usually *αἰσίων σημάτων* saith a *Artemidorus*, signs of sedition and dis- cord. But then you must except the Cock matches kept once a year in the Theatre, and instituted by *b Themistocles* after the victory gotten over the Persians, from whom *c* the Cock first came into Athens. This bird being alwaies very much lookt upon in matters of War, was the occasion that *Mars* was pictured with a Cock: insomuch that it was their ordinary sacrifice to *Mars*, and therefore *Aristophanes* in *Avibus* calls it *Ἀρεῖος* *πρόβος* *Mars* his own bird. All birds (saith one) were either *μαντινὰ*, or *μικτὰ*, or *δαδωτὰ*. The *μαντινὰ* (I believe) were not many besides Crows, and Eagles and Doves, and Owls the most noted of all. Some of them are thought to have had a kind of language; which the Augures came to understand by being lickt by Snakes, or some such venomous and veneneficial means: *Qui credit ista* (saies *Pliny*) *& Melampodi profecto aures lambendo dedisse Intellectum avium sermonis dracones non abnuet, vel qua Democritus tra- dit, nominando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur, quem si quisquam ederit, intellecturus sit avium colloquia.* *Eu- stathius* saies that *Helennus* and *Cassandra* were thus licked clean into Augurs, *ἑλένη καὶ Κασσάνδρα ἐν ταῖς Ἀπόλλωνος δυνάμεσιν ἐλδόντες ὄρεσι καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν φιλεῖσαντες ὅτε ἔτις ἐξυπνός ἐργά- σατο ὡς μόνος τὰς ἁλῶν ἀκύνει βελός.* I am glad I am saved the labour to reprove those fellows my self. For it seems that the wiser sort even amongst them, did give but little heed to the wagging of a feather, or of a bird's tale, when they had a mind to be serious. Look in *Homer*, and you shall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamus* the Theban Au- gur (who had dissuaded from fighting, by reason of some thing or other which he had observed in the Birds) saies he, you may, if you think good, sit and gaze upon a few foolish birds till

*a Lib. 3. c. 5.*

*b Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 28.*

*c Athen. l. 14*

*Rosin.*

*χ. In Ari- stoph. Avib.*

till your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion,

Εἰς θάνατον αἶψα ἀμύνεσθαι πρὸ πάντων.

In *Aristophanes* you find the birds themselves *oscinentes*, chirping and gibing their spectators for their superstition.

Ἐσμέν δ' ἡμῶν δαίμων, Δεσφοὶ δαδάνη φοῖβος Ἀπολλων,  
Ελδόντες γὰρ πρὸτον ἐπ' ὄρνεις ἔτω πρὸς ἅπαντα πρὶν πεθε.

## CAP. I.

*De extispicinâ, & quibusdam aliis.*

**D**ivination by the Entrails of beasts, or *Extispicina* (for so *Aruspicina*, *Divination in Sacrifices*, is denominated *à potiori* from the best part of it) was more common then that former in all places (*Extis omnes ferè utuntur saies Cicero:*) and especially at *Elis* where it was, by the two families of the *Famida*, and the *Clytida*, and *Thelmessas* in *Caria* much improved. *Tiresias* had so great skill in this art (I cannot say *insight*, because *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindness*) that even after his death, among the Ghosts there were none but <sup>b</sup>his. *Ulysses* himself <sup>b</sup>was fain to trouble his soul to come back again to give him advise. The whole business of Divining at the offering of a victim (for there was something else to do besides poring in the guts) was called *ιεροσκοπία*. And a very solemn business it was, being usually attended with a feast, according to that.

*Eurip. Elect.*  
v. 835.

— ὅπως πρὸς θεῖαν θοῖνα σόμειν.

*Θυτική*, or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it up, is called by *Sophocles* ἀμφώβολα, and the act of cutting ἐνωμτεῖν. The signes observed were most properly called *σημεῖα*, and the observers *σημειωτικοί*. If the beast were drawn by force to the slaughter, if it escaped by the way, avoided the blow, fell not down quietly, bled but little, were long a dying,

kept



kept bearing the ground, they were all ill signs. For the two latter of them you have sadly expressed in the sacrifice of *Egysthus*.

— πᾶν δ' ὅμ' ἄνω χεῖρα

ἢ σπαρῖν ἢ ἀλάζειν θύοντα φόνον.

*Ibid.*

Ill signs, I say those were; and so was any thing else that either was contrary to nature or use, or put themselves to any trouble. Whereas on the contrary all was well, when every thing was done with ease, the beast not striving, and the blood presently darting out, as it is said it did in the Sacrifice of *Menelaus*.

— αἵματος δ' ὑπὸ ῥοαί

Εἰς οἷδ' ὅμ' ὀσκόνητον ἔειπε

*Idem.*

v. 1603.

Somewhat there was too, which they observed in the very ῥάματα or wagging of his \* tail, whence that in the Poet.

— Ἡ χέρκ' οὐ ποιεῖ χεκῶς;

The beasts that were thus used were anciently sheep, and Goats, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they say) made use of Sows, and the *Famidae* of Dogs; which was the reason why *cThra-sibolus* one of the pedigree was pictured at *Olympia* with a dog lying by him dissected, and a Weeple (an ominous creature) creeping over his shoulder.

*cPaus. in Eliac.*

In *Fissiculation* or cutting it abroad, they took most notice of the *Liver*, which *b Philostratus* saies they accounted the *Tripus* (as it were) or the *chair*, and the *key* of the work. For they thought if the Liver was naught, both the blood and all the rest of the body must needs be so too; insomuch that the work about all the bowels was called ἡ πατοσκοπία, a looking into the liver. The Concavous part of the Liver was called ἐστὸς *familiaris*, because the signes which they observed there, concerned themselves and their friends: the Gibbous side, ἰπίβολος or ἀντιστάτης *hostilis*, because the tokens in it concerned their enemies (as it was with the Romans) The place or seat in which all the parts of the liver lay, was called μέση δοχή: the place between the parts in the middle

ὅτι ἡ πατοσκοπία  
οἱ τ' αὐτοῦ  
μαρτυρικῆς ἐστὶ  
τρίποδα οἱ  
δεννοὶ ταῦτα

*Heljoh.*

ad orat. καῖα, and εὐρυχωρία: a Hesychius calls it, ὀδὴς, or ἐκτροπὴς,  
 Demost. Co- Euripides πύλας.  
 ron. — πύλαι καὶ δοχὴ πύλας

κακῶς φαίνεται τῷ σκοπεῖν τι προσβολὰς.

L. 2.

If there were *δελφὴς* (as they called it) too much dryth, or *δελφὴς* a *tye* between the parts, or especially if it were *ἀλοβον*, or without a *lobus*, it was a very ill sign: according to that of Appian *τὰ πρῶτα ἀλοβα εἰς κίνδυνον ἦλθε θανάτου, τὰ δ' ἄπ' αὐτῆς εἰς θάνατον*. This and other such signs because they were so bad, that they feared to go any farther in it; they called *ἀκίελαδα*. When they came to handle the heart, they called it *καρδίεσθαι*, or *καρδίελαϊν*. If it were little, or palpitated much, it was an ill sign. Fat in any part of the bowels was good (*κίση δὲ κῶλα συγκαλύπτει*) saies *Æschylus*; and so were *Σπλάγχναν πύλας*, plaits and foldings, saies *Euripides*.

Hesych.

When they came to burning, then they were said more properly *δὲ ἐμπύρων μαρτυρεῖσθαι*. At Delphos they had *πυρκαῖες*, officers of purpose for the work. The fire which they made use of for this occasion, was in most places made of some peculiar fewel, kindled by the beams of the Sun, and kept in a peculiar place. Thus in Egypt they had the *Seraphim*, and among the Persians, the fire which they worshiped under the name of *Orimasda*. At Athens they had a torch still burning in the temple of *Minerva Polias*, and *Virgins* constantly there to see it renewed; just as it was at Delphos, and at Rome in the Temple of *Vesta*.

Xenoph.

V. 75 L.

In burning they observed especially the flames, whatever he in *Helena* say to the contrary, where he speaks against all other divinations too.

οὐδ' ὡς ἂν ὕμεις εἴδ' ἐν ἐμπύρῳ φλογός,

Good signs in the flame were these, if it went upright without a noise, if it continued till all were consumed; or if it suddenly began to have the latter sign, instead of *ἀλκα* cleft wood, which they used at other times, they would get small dry sticks that would soonest take fire, *τὰ φρύγανα*, according

cording to that,

οὐκ ἔνδοκὸν σοὶ μαρτυκῶς τὸ φεῦγον τι θάδα.

Now indeed many times & ὅ ἐστιν ἄσκημα καὶ ἔσπερον, γινώσκουεν οἱ πῦρ βλέποντες, that is, the Priests being *divinarumq; sagaces c Flammæ*, divined by the burning, when there was nothing seen in the cutting: and therefore they took the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wool (for which reason *Sophocles* calls the bladders *μαλλοδέτες κύσεις*) put into the fire, to observe in what place it brake, and which way it darted the Urine, καὶ πῦρ τὸ οὐρὸν ἀκοντίζει. Sometimes they took pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there rose but one entire flame, it was taken for a good sign. In matters of hostility, they took most notice of the gall, and the ἀκροῦ λαμπρὰς in the flame: and very good reason, πικροὶ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ, for enemies are as bitter as the gall they burnt. Of the Ashes too they took some notice *μαρτυρία* ἀποδῶ, saies *Sophocles*. In the smoak they observed if it went upright and smelt of the flesh. And so at other times they used to throw frankincense and Poppey, and other several things in the fire, for nothing else but to observe such things, and to sell the smoak. Besides these there were infinite more *Divelish* sorts of Divinations: have the patience to take notice of two or three of the more notorious. *Νεκρομαντεία* or *Νεκρομαντεία*, was sometimes by the magical use of a bone, or a vain of a dead body, after the fashion of the *Thessalians*, or else by powring hot blood into the carcase, to make it answer a question, as *Erieto* does in *Lucian*,

—Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quarit

*Protinus astrictus caluit cruor, atrâque fovit*

*Vulnera &c.*—

Now because the Ghost or the Soul was thus recalled to the body (—*animas responsa daturas*) it was therefore sometimes termed *Ψυχμαντεία*, or *Συκομαντεία*, Divining by the Soul, or the Ghost. But such as expected any answer thus from the soul then, must be sure to be kind to the body before:

Z z 2

for

*Aristoph. in Pace.*

*χ. in Eurip.*

*c Sil. Ital.*

*In.*

*Eurip. in Phæn.*

*Μάντις μὴ λ'*

*ἡσφαζον, ἡμ-*

*πύρρος τ' ἀκ-*

*μὰς πύρρος τ'*

*ἐν δ' ὧν ὕ-*

*ρόπῳ τ' ἐναν-*

*τῶν Νίκης*

*τῇ σῆμα καὶ πύ-*

*ῖον πύρρος.*

*2 In Oedip.*

*Tyr.*

*Καλὸν δια-*

*μα θυμῷ*

*των Αἰετῶ*

*διαλαίρῃσι*

*πλεκταίνω*

*καὶ πύρ.*



*Herod. l. 6.* For *Melissa*, the Wife of *Periander*, refused to answer him, because he had buried her body as he should. But surely there was somewhat worse than a soul, else what need of *lustration* of the party? Such as *Tiresias* used to the *Theban* King, to keep him from the receiving harm. *Hydromanteia* was sometimes by Sea-water, but most commonly by that of a fountain, and so was called *πυρμαντεία*. It was done severall waies. 1. By drinking of the Water (enough to make many a Poet too) οἱ δὲ ἀπορρήτων ὑδάτων πίντες μαντικοὶ γινόμενοι, saies *Aristides* in his *Orat. de Pnice*. 2ly. By throwing things into it to try whether they would sink or swim, as they did cakes in the well of *Ino*. 3ly. By seeing the Images of such things as they sought for, especially in the Well of *Apollo Thryxenus* in *Achaiah*. 4ly. By dipping a glasse in the water, to know what would become of a sick man. For as he looked well or ill in the glasse, accordingly they presumed of his future condition. 5ly. By throwing in three stones, and observing the round they made in the sinking. Sometimes they made use of Oyl, or of Wine instead of Water: and so it was termed *χύτρα*, as when it was done in a Bason, *λεχνομαντεία*. *Λιδομαντεία*, was by a *Sederitis*, a kind of loadstone, which if they washt in Spring-water, would speak like a child. With such a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the destruction of *Troy*. *Κοκκινομαντεία*, was by a Sive held up by a Thred, or a pair of Sheers, and turning round at the naming of the party that stole the thing or the like. Of this *Theoc. Idyl. 3.* And I have seen it used by some women, *impiâ fraude*, or *anti superstitione*, I cannot tell which. I have not leisure (neither indeed is it *tanti*) to tell much of other waies of divining, of *δακτυλομαντεία*, with *Gyges* his ring: or of *ὠοσκοπία* with Eggs, which *Snidas* saies *Orpheus* wrote a book of. Or of *κλειδομαντεία* with barley, or of *λυχνομαντεία*, by the burning of a candle, mentioned by *Pliny* in his *Natural History*, and by *Aratus* in his *Prognosticks*. To which you may adde their common old-wives-Sayes concerning weather

*Pausan. in  
Lacon.*

*L. 30. c. 11.*

theror the like, such as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to disparage those more *Astrological* and *Rational*, such as that of *Virgil*.

*Luna revertentem*, &c. with the rest.

C A P. II.

*De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.*

ALL this which I have spoken is to conjecture by *things*, but there is a way by *words* also; by which according as the words were good or bad, they presaged such and such events. Such words were called *κληδόνες* or *φήμαι*, from *φαίναι* (suitable to the name of *Propheta*;) as *omen* comes from *οίμεν*, *quia fit ore* (quoth *Festus*.) You may render it *voices* (for so we use to call those prophetick speeches, which we hear we know not from whence, as the Scripture also does) and *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*; *Pythagorei non solum voces deorum observant, sed etiam hominum*. Any words that either boded ill, or signified that which they disliked, they called *βλασφημία*: and he that used them to another, either to hurt him, or to vex him, was said to *βλασφημεῖν αὐτόν* to *blaspheme* him *φθίγγε δα βλασφημίαν* *Euripides* calls it, where he speaks of certain-ominous speeches let fall at a feast by a servant, just as one of the company was going to drink

L. 1. *Divin.*

*βλασφημίαν τίς οἰκιστὴς ἐφείλετο.*

The Latines call it *obscenare*, and the words themselves *malè ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*) we may english it *halzening speeches*. Such words as these they had alwaies a superstitious care to avoid: insomuch that they would say instead of *δεσμωτήριον* a prison, *ὄκημα* a house. And so for *εἰρηνες*, *Εὐμενιδες*; and *Σεμναὶ θεαὶ*: for *πίδνυθ*, *καλλία*: for *μῦσος*, *ἀγ* and the like. For there is a kind of words, which (as *Tully* saies of *Nulla spes Reipublica*) *non licet*, or (to speak in the phrase of *Terence*) *Religio est dicere*, they made a scruple to

Ion. 1188.

Epist. ad

Cassium

Plato l. 7. de  
Leg.

Speak, and therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other businessse with the gods, nothing was more strictly commanded and observed, then *εὐφημεῖν* (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of holy daies) to avoid all ominous expressions, or *κακὰς ὁμίας* (as they called them.) Which if they were spoken by a brother, or one very neer of kin to that party whose businessse was then in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and thought them so much the worse. What words were especially counted for ominous, you might give me an account; if you could give me *Suetonius* his book, of which we have but the title, viz. *De vocibus malè ominatis*. Only thus much I may tell you, that when they first set about any businessse of concernment, they had a special care to begin with a Preface *θεὸς θεός*, or *εὐ παύσομεν*, or *ἔσται μὲν εὖ*, like to *Persius* his *hoc benè sit*, and that old threadbare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum, felix, fortunatumq; sit*. Some words there were, and Proper names of such a signification, as it was counted a happinessse but to hear them spoken. For so when *Julus* had said

*Mensas etiam consumimus*—presently (saies *Virgil*) his father laid hold on the word and imbraced the omen,

→ *ea vox audita laborum*

*Prima tulit finem, primùmque loquentis ab ore*

*Eripuit pater*—

So *Leotychides*, when he desired of a *Samian* his assistance against the *Persians*, asked what his name was, and being answered *Hegeistratus*, reply'd, I embrace the omen in the *nomen*, or *Ἡγεστράτης δέχομαι τὸ ὄνομα* for *δέχομαι τὸ ὄνομα*, is the same with *them*, that accipere omen is with the Latines, that is, to make an ominous speech an omen indeed, and take it to my self. For indeed they counted it much in the power of the hearer, to make it an omen or not an omen; *ostentorum vires in eorum erant potestate, quibus ostendebantur*, saies *Pliny*.

Now the way to abominate an omen, was either to fling a stone at the thing, if it were an ominous creature, as a Cat,  
or



or the like; or else if it were an unlucky *speech*, to retort it back again with *εἰς κεφαλὴν σοῖ*, *tibi in caput redeat*, let it return upon thine own head. Which perhaps, is an expression borrowed from a custome of the *ἱερόσκοποι*, not only among them, but among the Egyptians also, who when they spied any thing in the *victims*, that seemed to portend ill to their country, used to pray, *εἰς κεφαλὴν ταύτης τραπίδα*, that it might return upon the head of the beast. The like perhaps is used in the Hebrew, *וַיִּשָּׁב בְּרֹאשׁוֹ* in several places of the Scripture: and it puts me in mind of that saying in *Seneca*, *Quis non, si admoneatur ut de suis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen respuat, & in capita inimicorum, aut ipsius intempestivi monitoris abire illa jubeat*. Instead of this sometimes they would say *εἰς ἀγαθὸν μοι*, *dii monuerint meliora*. Sometimes upon such an unlucky speech heard while they did such a thing, they would do it another way: or do it again; as one in *Euripides*, upon somebody speaking an unhappy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the ground, and called for another cup.

Things ominous, some of them were in the parties own body, and those were either. 1. *Marks*, such as *ἐλάλα* spots like oyl. 2. *Παλμοὶ*. 3. *Πταρμοὶ*. *παλμὸς διογίσματα*, were such as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muscles, called in Latine *Salissationes*, and *ββμῦ*, or *tinnitus aurium*; which if it were the tingling of the right ear, it was as good as the palpitation of the right eye. Of these things *Melampus* the great Fortune-teller wrote one book to *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*; and *Posidonius* another (saies *Suidas*) which he called *Παλμὸν διογίσματα*.

*Πταρμός* Sneezing, was so superstitiously esteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for a god, & *πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγέμεθα*, saies *Aristotle* in his Problems. Which was the reason, saith *Athenæus*, that they abstained from eating the brain, out of which the sneezing came; as also the cause of that usual prayer of salutation *Ζεῦ σῶσον* at a sneezing: according to that jeer of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long nose,

*Herodot.*

*Obadiæ v. 15.  
& 1. Kings 2.  
v. 44. &c.*

*Mosch. Idyl.*

*ἂ Ἀλυστῆ  
ὀφθαλμοὺς  
μοι ὁ θεὸς.  
Theocr. Id. 3.*

*L. 2.*

as

as if he had stood so far out, that he could not hear himself when he sneezed.

Οὐδὲ λέγει, ζεῦ σῶσον, ὅταν πᾶρῃ, ἔ γδ ἀκούει

Τῆς ῥινὸς πολὺ γδ ἢ ἀκοῆς ἀπέχει.

Cassium.

Plutarch. de

Insomuch that if a man sneezed at such a *time*, or on such a *side*, they were either perswaded to, or discouraged from the business undertaken. *Socrates* (as *emuncta naris* as he was) had so little *sense* himself, as to fetch advice from another mans *nose*, and to make a Sneeze serve instead of a genius or a *demonium*, to tell him the good and the bad; for it did both, according to circumstances. If a man sneez'd in the *afternoon* it was a good omen: but ill in the morning; and the reason is disputed by *Aristotle* in the *Problemes*. If a man sneezed at table while they were taking away, or if another hapned to sneeze on the *left* hand of a man; then beware, all is not right. But if it happened on the other hand, all was well. If I may take *Euphrantides* his judgement, encouraging *Themistocles* his Souldiers to fight, upon no other ground then such a sneeze, αἶμα ὃ παρμὶς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσήμνη. Such a sneeze while *Xenophon* was making his speech, was enough to make him a General. But another, while he perswaded the Souldiers to fight, was to them such an omen of ill luck, that they were fain to nuncupate a publick vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) *ordinarily* it was reckon'd for *good*; as in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was, presently after a speech made of *Ulysses* his return, and revenging himself of his enemies.

Ὡς εἶπα, Πηλέμαχος δὴ μέγ' ἐπᾶρεν — and so *Penelope* took it (for saies she, laughing and rejoycing) οὐχ ὅστις ἐμὸς υἱὸς ἐπέπαρε πᾶσιν ἔπεισι. And the reason may be because sneezing is commonly *healthy* and *wholsome*, σωτηριῶδης: which perchance was understood by the aforesaid *Euphrantides*, when he added ἔτω γδ Σωτήριον τε καὶ νίκην ἐσθλαίῃσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι. But now at last I must tell you of *this* way of divining too (as I did of the former) that it was long ago  
 flighted

flighted even among the Grecians by the wiser sort for example, *Timotheus*, when one of the Souldiers happened to sneeze, as he was going on shipbord being therefore dissuaded from going by the Master of the ship, burst out a laughing and said, ποῖον ᾧ δὲ δόνησιν εἰ ποσέτων ἀεισηκίτων εἰς ἑπάρη, *What great omen can it be for one man to sneeze, when there be so many together.* But among the Romans a great deal more: for *Cicero* put it among the other fooleries, *Que si suscipiamus & pedis offensio nobis, & corrigia abruptio, & sternutamenta erunt observanda.*

L. 2. de Div.

Ominous actions, or accidents, were such as these following. First at a *Sacrifice*, it was an action much used, to take a piece of the cake or any other thing; and carry it home *bona scava gratia*, as we say for the lucks sake. This piece of cake, or pudding, or what shall I call it, they called by the name of *εὐγίνα sanitas*. If in sacrificing the Priest did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unlucky accident. This observation the Romans called, *caducum auspicium*. 2ly, At a *Feast* this action was lucky, to crown the Cup with a Garland — *pateramque Coronâ induit.*

εὐγίνα ἀλ-  
φειποινηκῆ  
λαίω πεφυε-  
μένα, καὶ πᾶν  
τὸ ἐν τῷ.

The reason (saies *Eustathius* out of *Athenaus*) was this, because a Garland represents a circle, τὰ ὅτι τοιαῦτα ῥήματα καὶ πῆ-  
λιδότι καὶ πελυχόρητε, which is the most compleat figure of all, and holds most. Unlucky accidents were such as these, viz. The coming in of a strange black dog, the cracking of the table, the spilling of wine (of which *Xenocrates* had no more wit then to write a book) taking away while one was a drinking) or a suddain silence. In putting on of the cloaths the right side must be served first; and therefore if a servant had but given his Master the left shooe first, he was sure to have a it. And thus much at Home. Abroad they had for their omens, σύμβολα ἐνὸδία, or συμβόλους ὁρνιδας. That is (saies the Scholiast) τὸ πρῶτα ξυταντῶντας, occursacula, any thing that meet them first. Of such as these one named *Hippocrates* (not the Physitian) and another named *Pollos* wrote their books. *Snidas.*

δεῦ φερόμε-  
νον, εἴτε μύ-  
ρον, εἴτε  
σαλλός. saies  
*Hesychius.*

οικέτης ἐμα-  
ρὸς τὰ ὑποδή-  
ματα ὁπδὲς  
περὶ τὸν ὄρεξε  
τὸ ἀειτερόν.  
*Chrysostom.*  
d In *Ari-*  
*stoph. Av.*  
*Snidas.*



Lucian.

Aristoph. in  
Ecclef.

a L. 3.

b Plutarch  
de Philadel.Aristoph. in  
Ecclef.

In Eliacis.

If a Snake lay so in the way, as to part the company: or if they met with a Hare, or a Bitch with whelps, or a Fixen with Cubs; O! these things were δυσάνητα, δυσίωνισα καὶ ἀπο-  
 ἔπαια διαμάτα, *abominanda & averruncanda*, abominable  
 sights. So if a man happened to meet with a Black-more, or an  
 Ape, or an Eunuch, ἀπὸ πόδα ἀνασπείρει, saith Lucian, he must  
 stand forty foot off. Nay if we met but with a Weezle or such  
 a creature in the crosse way, we will have no *Comitia* fit for  
 all this day, And c *Artemidorus* will give you a reason,  
 why γαλή should be so much taken notice of, in his d δεκ-  
 δεσμῇ, or running by: because (forsooth) it is ἰσοβήθη to δίκην,  
 that is (as I think) the letters in each word will signify the  
 same number. viz. 42. But if it be so, how came she to be such  
 an enemy to δίκην, as to interrupt the course of justice? perhaps,  
 it was only then, when they omitted that usual ceremony, of  
 leading her about the house for a *lustration*, to purge it of un-  
 lucky things. Infinite many more sorts of divinations might I  
 mention of this kind, but it will sufficiently testify what regard  
 the Grecians had of such bables, if I tell you how that at Thebes  
*Apollo Spondius* himself had his *Altars*, and his prophesying by  
 Omens ματηκὺν ἀπὸ κληδόνων. So likewise at *Smyrna* he had his  
 κληδόνων ἱερὸν his *Temple* for omens too (saies *Pausanias*) where  
 the fashion was for him that came for an omen, first to whisper  
 his question in the *Idol's* ears, and then presently stopping his  
 own, to go forth of the temple, and the first voyce heard after  
 he came out must go for the Oracle. And so much of divining  
 by a conjecture by art. One word or two of lots, and 'He have  
 done.

CAP. III.

De Sortibus, &c.

THIS way of Divination is clean different from the former, because in it (as Cicero saies) *temeritas & casus, non ratio & concilium valet*. For though there might be *casus* of the things in the former, yet there was skill withall in the person to give the signification. It was invented by *Minerva*: onely *Jupiter* took away her credit, to make the better trading for *Apollo*. Casting, or Drawing lots, was either with ἀσφάλαις, or tali cast into a box: or with tesserae (χαυματεῖα Plutarch calls them) little wooden tables with letters upon them drawn out of a pot, or calculi little balls of earth, with marks upon them for the names, sometimes taken out of a pot, and sometimes thrown into a well (whether to see which came up first, or how it was I cannot tell) Pausanias speaks of the wooden tables, that they were used in the temple of *Hercules* Βεγγιῶς in *Achaiah*. And the like (they say) were used by the Parliament of five hundred, with the characters of the ten first letters upon them, to show to which of the ten Courts every Judge was to go (together with the Image of a rod the ensign of *Mercury*, the god of *Lots*) he that had the Alpha, went to that Court which had the sign of *Alpha*, and they had the rest to the Courts that bare the names of the letters. One of these waies or all (which I know not) was so much used by the *Thria* (the three *Nimphes* reported to have been the nurses of *Apollo*) that at length the word *thria* came to be used for *sortes*, *lots*, according to that

Ποῖοι δὲ ὀρσοβόλοι πάντες ἢ τε μάντιες ἄνδρες

Calculi were much used in ancient times in Judging of causes, and in wrestling matches, and the like: though (it seems) in Cicero's time not so much, *Quis enim magistratus, aut quis vir illustrior utitur sortibus, ceteris vero in locis planè refrigunt.* L. 2. Divin.

Pag. 118.

\* L. 7.

Pyth. Od. 4.

*unt.* In their *Wrestling matches* I have read that they had a silver pot called the *κλῆμα*, into which they put little pellets about the bignesse of a bean, according to the number of the men, two with one mark: and those that happened to draw the same mark were to *Wrestle* together: or if there were an odde man, he that had the luck to meet with the odde pellet (whom they named *ἑσπέρων*) was to *come in at Kings* (as we say) or to *wrestle* at last with him that had the mastery. How they used them in *Judging of Causes*, has been shewed by another already. But that they were used also by persons condemned to dye, may be gathered out of *Aristophanes in pace*. For by reason that one only was to be put to death in one day, and sometimes the judgment was reversed: the Prisoners did cast lots who was to dye first; and he that drew first, was commonly called by the name of *Ἑρμῆς* the *Mercury*. Thus in the ships in a storm, they used to cast lots who should be thrown over bord for a *κρίσμα*. Thus *Enstathius* saies, the lot fell to \* *Ismene*, just as it did to the Prophet *Jonah*. And so in most of the Temples, that were resorted unto for Oracles, there were *κλῆματα* Lots and a table of purpose to throw for it; after the receiving of the answer; for *ἔαν βάλλοιτός τις τὸ ὃ ἀναβῇ ἀποτελεσθήσεται τὸ ὃ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐκ ἀποτελεσθήσεται* (saies the *α* upon *Pindar*) if I throw such a cast, the prophecy will be fulfilled. If I do not, it will not. Nay in the Lanes, and the Streets, and the crosse waies they had their *sortes viales* (*αἰνόςτις συμβάλας* *Aeschylus* calls them, and *ἑρμῶτις* is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the Romans. For the party that would know his fortune, carried so many cuds about him, with severall inscriptions: and the next boy he met within the way as he went, he bid him draw: and if that which came forth, agreed with that which he had in his mind: it went for as good a Prophecy as the best, according to that of *Tibullus Eleg. 1.*

*Ille sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit, illi  
Retulit è triviis omnia certa puer.*

Artem.



Artemidorus in his *Proœmium* speaks of ἡ ἐν ἀγορῇ μάντευς, Diviners in the Market. The originall of this divination Plutarch in his book de *Iside & Osiride*, fetches from the Egyptians. For when Typho had put Osiris in a chest, and thrown him into the Sea. Isis, as he was wandering too and fro to seek him, happened upon a company of boyes at play; and asking of them, they shewed him the place. ἐκ τέτυ τα παιδαία μαγικὰ ἔχειν δύναμις οἰεσθαι Αἰγυπτίους καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τέτων. Κληῖδος παζόντων ἐν ἑσθῇ καὶ φεγγουμένω ὅτι αὐτὸν πύχων. Besides these waies already mentioned, they had another, by opening such a Poet in one or more places, and taking the first verses they met with for a prediction: which way of prediction they called σοιχομαντεία, or ῥαψωδομαντεία. And of this are meant the *Sortes Homericae* we read of. And *Virgilianæ*: which they say Severus Alexander made use of, when he met with this verse of Virgil.

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.*

Nay the Christians themselves have not stickt to practise the like upon the Bible, according to that of Nicephorus Gregor. Ἀπολξεν ἔκεισε δεῖν ἐν ψαλμῷ πρόβλημα καὶ ὁμοίαν ἀποειῶν. And thus Hercules is reported by Cedrenus, to have askt counsel out of the New Testament, καὶ εὗρεν ὁπαρέποντα ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ παραχεύσασθαι, and to have been thereby perswaded to Winter in Albania. Sometimes they would make choyce of divers fatidical verses, and having written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. *Austin. l. 4. Confess. cap. 3.* Makes mention of these lotteries. *Si enim de Paganis poeta cujuspiam longè aliud canentis atque intendentis, cum sortem quis consulit, mirabiliter consonus negotio sæpè versus exiret.* And this way they say that Socrates foretold the day of his death. But thus much may suffice of κληῖδος *sortes*, for by κληῖδος in the singular number, is many times meant the hint, or occasion given to Diviners to speak what they did. καὶ In Eurip. Hippol. σημεῖον τὸ διδόμενον τοῖς μανταδομένοις ὅπως οἱ μάντις ὁρμώμενοι προφητεύουσιν ὅτι τίς μελέτω.

a Euph. Iphig.  
in A. v. 757.  
b In Androm.

For the Diviners themselves, *Vates*, or μάντις, as they did but little better then *fain* like Poets; so they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of Laurel about their heads, as the Poet a saies of Cassandra b κλωεακόμω σφάνω δάφνας κοσμηθεΐσαν. For why? — *venturi prescia laurus*. The Laurel they took to be a thing of special and sovereign vertue, both to set a man a Prophecyng (and therefore Euph. calls it θεσπίσιον δάφνιν) and to preserve him from any evill, and therefore very much used in Lustrations, insomuch that they would commonly have the staves they carried in their hands, to be made of Laurell wood. They had their dyet in the *Prytaneum* like publick persons. χρησιμολόγοι μετέϊχον τὸ ἐν πρυτανείῳ οἰκήσεις, saies the Scholiast on Aristophanes. There was one more noted Fraternity of them, called the μυσαδῆς εἰδός, πῦρ φρατρία μάντιων, saies Hesych. Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis*. The eldest was of *Elea* in *Beotia*; the next of *Athens* (he that cured the *Lacedamonian* women of their madnesse) and the youngest of *Caphua* in *Arcadia* of *Locris* some say) otherwise called Κύδης, and Ἀλήτης. Answering to these three men, the Scholiast upon Aristophanes (in *Irene*) saies there were three Women Prophets, every one of whom was called by the name of *Sybilla*, viz. *Delphica*, *Erythraea*, and *Sardiaca*. But the first (I believe) had most of the Spirit of c *Python*; and brought her Master most gain by Southsaying.

c AEs c. 16. v.  
16.

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done so much so ill already, I must be forced to do more yet, and excuse one fault with another. For my desire is to leave thee fully satisfied with my reasons why I did it at all, & why I did it no better. The cords that drew me to do it (and drawn I was) were three, such as twisted together I could by no means break, viz. First the importunity of my

my friend. 2. The necessity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Customs, for the understanding of Authors: and 3. The hopes which I had, by Employment (as by an Issue) to divert my humour of Melancholy another way. The causes why I did it no better, are as many. viz. First want of years and judgement, having done the most part of it in my Tirocinium (when I took more delight in these studies) as appears by the number of the Authors which I have cited. 2ly. Want of health. And 3ly. Want of time and leasure, being called away by occasions, that might not be neglected, and by friends that could not be disobeyed. If yet I have given thee but little light, and my labour and oyl be not all lost, I have as much as I desired myself, and thou hast no more than I owed thee.

Z. BOGAN.







Μέσων οὐτος ὁποῖοι ὅδ' ἐκνονο, Ἐρεφιώπης  
 Μητέρας εἶχ' ἐδύω, Πατέρας δ' ὄγ'. Σῶμα γὰρ αἶμα  
 Ἄλλοι ἔδωκε ψυχῇ, εἴπερ ψυχὴ ἐνετελέχεια.

Ἦσδ', Πάπον, Πλήρωμα, τό σφίον σφίρωμα, πῆτευξω.  
 Εὖνι, τὰ δ' Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαῖα Σὺ μάλλον ἔτ' αἰεὶ  
 Μάλλον ἀπαστῆδισον Σκυδικῇ καρυαμένει πύρεα.

Ἐκδύσει ἐνὶ νύκτι πῆρεον; τὰ φθοι, ἔρωτες,  
 Θρέμματα, λεχρί, ἱκίται, Μαντοσύνη, Πόλομοι.

R. WARRE.

1866.



FINIS

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